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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 11, November 1983

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

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No. 11, November 1983

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## STEP UP THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 1-7

[Editorial; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Since the total liberation of the South, our party has led our people in making efforts and achieving great successes in national construction and defense.

Among these successes have been the IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENTS in the socialist transformation of private industry and trade. The state has directly controlled and managed the key economic sectors and important economic establishments. It has monopolized foreign trade, nationalized private banks, monopolized the issuance of currency, unified the management of vital commodities, abolished the compradore bourgeoisie's economy, punished dishonest big traders, transformed an important section of private capitalist industry and trade, incorporated a section of small industry and handicrafts into low-to-higher-level collective production organizations, and organized, transformed, and used a section of small traders. It was on this basis that the socialist economic system has been gradually built and consolidated and has gained the upper hand in the national economy and that socialist production relations have been established, initially paving the way for the productive forces to develop.

These successes were due mainly to the correctness of the party's general line and economic line as well as the party's and state's positions and policies concerning the socialist transformation of private industry and trade; to the many efforts of the party and administrative committees at all levels in exercising leadership and guidance; to the active implementation by large masses of party cadres and members and workers; and to the warm support of the working people.

However, aside from these achievements, there have also been a number of shortcomings in the socialist transformation of private industry and trade. These are:

FIRST, transformation has not yet been linked with building, building has not been regarded as the main objective; emphasis has been laid on abolition of

the system of private ownership of the means of production while due importance has not been attached to building and consolidating new production relations and to building, consolidating, and developing the state and collective economic forces so as, on this basis, to promote production and broaden distribution and circulation according to plan and under state management.

SECOND, the right to collective mastery of factory workers and other laborers has not yet been vigorously brought into play in transforming and building work, in the management of already transformed enterprises, and in educating and transforming the bourgeois into laborers.

THIRD, we have not yet firmly grasped the characteristics of the southern private industry and trade so as to creatively apply the party's and government's lines and policies and to devise appropriate steps, forms, and methods of transformation. We have at times been impatient, wanting to expedite transformation while the necessary conditions, especially cadres, have not been carefully made ready and economic-technical plans have not been satisfactorily prepared.

FOURTH, we have not yet linked the transformation of industry and trade with the transformation of agriculture. In transformation work, we have not closely combined the three revolutions and three kinds of measures--economic, educational, and administrative.

FIFTH, there has been a lack of continuity in our guidance of the socialist transformation of private industry and trade. From 1979, we neglected the task of transforming private industry and trade and market management for some time, allowing the bourgeoisie to resurrect and develop both in the South and the North (especially the Hoa bourgeoisie in the South), the spontaneous capitalist forces to operate freely, and the enemy to take advantage of these shortcomings to oppose and sabotage us in many fields, thereby upsetting socio-economic order.

The reason why there were shortcomings in the transformation of private industry and trade was because the party's general line and economic line were not thoroughly understood, because the dictatorship of the proletariat was not firmly maintained, and because some places sometimes still had a vague perception of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, of the struggle between us and the enemy, and of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. It was also because of the failure to fully understand the close connection between production relations and production forces, the task of building a unified socialist economic system nationwide, the five economic elements, the combining of plans with the market, and the struggle against both of the following tendencies in economic activities: the tendency toward liberalism, departmentalism, disorganization, and indiscipline and that toward bureaucratism, subsidization, conservatism, and sluggishness.

These shortcomings have limited the results of the transformation of private industry and trade. We should take them as lessons to gain more experience for further socialist transformation work in the future.

The socialist transformation of private industry and trade should be continued and stepped up to take our entire country to socialism. This task has become all the more urgent since, in recent years, the bourgeoisie has reared its head again and operated in many forms. The bourgeois still keep large amounts of gold, money and merchandise, enriching themselves through speculation, smuggling, making and dealing in fake goods, grossly inflating prices, and tax evasion. Using many tricks, they have struggled against various state economic organizations and economic management organs to maintain and develop the capitalist mode of production. They have established contact with the vast system of small traders and small producers and used it as an elaborate network of agents in the purchase and consumption of goods. They have even managed to obtain state-owned supplies and goods through a number of degenerate and deviant elements among state cadres and employees. They have also continued to maintain and develop a channel for traffic with foreign countries. If the socialist transformation of private industry and trade is not stepped up and if the bourgeoisie is not done away with, socialism cannot be successfully built.

Our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, the economy is still composed of several elements, and the struggle between the two paths to settle the question "which one will prevail" is proceeding in a fierce and complex manner. In the current situation, the task of continuing the socialist transformation of private industry and trade has become even more exceptionally important.

To carry out socialist transformation is precisely to implement an important part of the general line and economic line set forth by the party's 4th and 5th Congresses for the purpose of building a system of socialist collective mastery, a system of large-scale socialist production, a new culture, and a new type of socialist man; abolishing the system of exploitation of man by man; doing away with poverty and backwardness; and turning Vietnam into an independent, unified, and socialist country with a modern industrial-agricultural economy, advanced culture and science and technology, strong national defense, and a civilized and happy life for its people. To satisfactorily carry out socialist transformation is to make an important contribution to the struggle of the entire party, entire Armed Forces, and entire people in foiling the multifaceted war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionists-hegemonists in collusion with U.S. imperialism and other international reactionary forces, in strengthening national defense, and in maintaining political security and social order and safety.

In the current task of socialist transformation, as far as private industry and trade are concerned, we must primarily step up socialist transformation in the South while continuing to transform the newly formed bourgeoisie and the petty merchants who are increasing in the North due to our recent lapses in management. We must also consolidate and perfect socialist production relations throughout the country. To perform this task is also to carry out close coordination and mutual assistance among Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in socialist transformation and construction and in the struggle against the schemes and acts of sabotage of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces.

In the process of carrying out the socialist transformation of private industry and trade, we must firmly grasp the party's basic viewpoints.

WE MUST COMBINE TRANSFORMATION WITH BUILDING WHILE REGARDING BUILDING AS THE MAIN EFFORTS. The most distinctive characteristic of our country is that it is advancing from an economy with predominantly small-scale production directly to socialism, bypassing the period of capitalist development. For this reason, we must consciously and satisfactorily apply the law of production relations in such a way as to suit the level of development of the production forces. Due to this characteristic, when carrying out socialist transformation in our country, we must not only settle the question of ownership but also arrange and organize the building of the economy. We must build both new production relations and new production forces, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, reorganize the entire national economy, industrialize the country step by step, advance small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, build an industrial-agricultural economic structure, and build a unified socialist economic system throughout the country.

We must clearly see the dialectical relationship between transformation and building and closely combine transformation with building while regarding building as the main effort. While carrying out transformation, we are already engaged in building. Simultaneously with transformation, we must build new production relations, including ownership, distribution and management, in which the building of the system of socialist ownership plays a decisive role. At the same time, we must reorganize production and business operations nationwide and in each economic-technical sector and each locality. We must build and perfect the socialist economic management system, of which plans must be regarded as the center and in which plans must be combined with socialist economic accounting and business.

We must achieve the abolition of capitalist production relations, establish socialist production relations throughout the country, do away with the system of exploitation of man by man, and change the status of workers and laborers from that of exploited hired hands into that of workmen who are collective masters of society and factories. We must transform the bourgeois into laborers.

The abolition of capitalist production relations must be closely linked with the socialist transformation of small producers and petty merchants. Small producers of goods are both laborers and proprietors. Owing to their labor, they can easily accept the socialist path and advance together with the working class to socialism. On the other hand, due to private ownership, the economy of small-scale goods production constantly and spontaneously gives rise to capitalism or serves as its breeding ground. As Lenin put it, "small-scale production GIVES BIRTH to capitalism and the bourgeoisie every day, every hour."(1)

In order to earn more income, the bourgeoisie has tried to win over and use small producers and small traders for their business purposes. In transformation, the state is resorting to various measures aimed at severing the trade relations between the bourgeoisie and small producers and small

traders; advancing small producers toward socialism through collectivization efforts; and rearranging, transforming, and shifting the bulk of small traders to production. Therefore, the transformation of private capitalist industry and trade must accompany the transformation of private capitalist industry and trade must accompany the transformation of the economy of the small-scale production of goods, and the transformation of the bourgeoisie must be linked with the transformation of small producers and small traders.

**COMBINE INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION AND CONSTRUCTION WITH AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND CONSTRUCTION; LINK TRANSFORMATION AND CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF PRODUCTION WITH THOSE IN THE FIELD OF DISTRIBUTION AND CIRCULATION.**

If industry is transformed and built up while agriculture is left behind, the economy will become imbalanced. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out industrial transformation and construction in conjunction with agricultural transformation and development efforts in order to insure that industry will play a leading role in the national economy and that agriculture will serve as a foundation for industrial development. We must closely combine industrial transformation and construction with efforts to carry out agricultural transformation and construction if the combination of industry and agriculture is to be achieved right from the beginning in order to create an agro-industrial structure for each district, each province, each city, and for the entire country.

Moreover, production, distribution, and circulation are the work links of the process of reproduction in society. Although production is a key and decisive factor, it is heavily affected by distribution and circulation. If the distribution of the total volume of social products and the national income is irrational and if the value of goods is not smoothly insured as a result of interruptions, production will not be able to develop and there will be economic recession. Satisfactorily building the socialist trade sector will greatly affect the promotion of increased production. Therefore, it is necessary to CLOSELY COMBINE TRANSFORMATION AND CONSTRUCTION EFFORTS IN THE FIELD OF PRODUCTION WITH TRANSFORMATION AND CONSTRUCTION EFFORTS IN THE FIELDS OF DISTRIBUTION AND CIRCULATION.

Simultaneously, IT IS NECESSARY TO DEVELOP THE SOCIALIST COLLECTIVE MASTERY of the laboring people, perfect the party organizations at various production and business establishments, BUILD THE PARTY INTO A LEADING NUCLEUS in various enterprises, build the administration at various levels--especially the administration at various city wards, villages, precincts, and districts--into a steadfast one, build and intensify the activities of various mass organizations, and select and appoint outstanding citizens to key positions in conjunction with efforts to intensify the training and additional training of managerial cadres.

The party and the administration at all levels--especially those at various enterprises and at the city war, village, precinct, and district levels--must consider shaping appropriate and concrete management forms, enabling the masses to truly develop their collective mastery in production and

distribution and in the organization of the material and cultural life at the grassroots level.

It is necessary to firmly grasp THE PARTY'S CONCEPT OF THE FIVE ECONOMIC COMPONENTS IN THE SOUTH DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

For a certain period during the transition to socialism, there will continue to exist in the South five economic components--state-run, collectively-run, state-run capitalist, privately-run capitalist, and privately-run.

Our party has issued many resolutions specifying its concept of these economic components. On the path toward socialism, these five economic components remain constantly active and develop in the following direction:

The state-run and the collectively-run economic components are more and more consolidated and developed with the state-run economic component--which plays a leading role in the national economy--becoming increasingly steadfast. The privately-run capitalist component shrinks more and more and eventually is eradicated. The privately-run economic component is, for the most part, reorganized and gradually transformed into the collectively-run component. This is the inevitable result of the struggle to settle once and for all the question of "who will defeat whom" between socialism and capitalism. This is also the evolutionary pattern of various economic components during the transitional period to socialism.

We must firmly grasp the above conception so as to strive to transform the old system of production relations and build the new system of production relations actively, constantly and firmly. It is necessary to prevent and overcome the rightist, wait-and-see, and indecisive tendencies and, at the same time, do away with subjectivism and hastiness in doing transformation work.

In order to step up socialist transformation in private industry and trade, we must continue to scrupulously carry out various transformation policies already put into effect by the party and the government. In implementation, we must clearly distinguish industry from trade and the bourgeoisie from small proprietors, small producers, and small traders.

As for privately-run capitalist industry, the state adopts a general policy of restricting and then eradicating it while exploiting its positive aspects beneficial to the welfare of the public, gradually transforming economic establishments owned by the bourgeoisie into state-run enterprises, joint state-private enterprises, or cooperative enterprises, and educating and transforming the bourgeois into the laboring people.

With regard to ARTISAN AND HANDICRAFT INDUSTRIES run by small producers, the transformation policy calls for educating and gradually motivating these small producers to join collective business organizations of an appropriate scale--from simple to complex--and on the principle of voluntariness, mutual benefit, and democratic management.

In the EXPORT AND IMPORT BUSINESS, it is necessary to strictly observe the principles of foreign trade being monopolized by the state, the export and import policy being put under unified state management, and all the key exports and imports and the bulk of foreign currency earned being brought under the control of the central government; to muster all the latent potentials and capacities of the grassroots-level organizations and create conditions for various establishments to participate in the manufacture of export-oriented goods; and to strictly economize on domestic consumption to increase exports and serve the industrialization of the country.

Regarding THE CIRCULATION OF GOODS IN THE COUNTRY, it is necessary to strive to consolidate and develop the state-run trade sector and the cooperativized trade sector and to positively do away with the bourgeoisie in the trade business.

Concerning petty traders, depending on each branch of trade, the state will rearrange them and transform them with the use of appropriate forms. It will employ a number of small traders as purchase and retail sales agents and permit a number of petty traders to do their business under state control and management. It will employ a number of professional small traders for the socialist trade network and gradually shift part of the nonessential personnel from circulation to production and service work.

It is necessary to punish speculators, smugglers, people guilty of making and trading in counterfeit goods and those guilty of tax fraud and tax evasion and, at the same time, to strictly deal with degenerate and deviant elements in state organs who are guilty of corruption, theft, illegal dealings, and bribery. Specific attention must be paid to fighting smuggling activities along the border and at sea in conjunction with efforts to struggle against all the enemy's schemes and tricks aimed at sabotaging our economy.

Carrying out socialist transformation in private industry and trade amounts to implementing one of the important tasks of the party and the state designed to assure success for the socialist revolution and for socialist construction. As this transformation task is being carried out in a difficult and complex socio-economic situation, it requires closer leadership from the party and positive, constant, and firm guidance from the administration at all levels.

We must regularly educate party cadres and members and make them fully aware of the party's fundamental viewpoints. We must uphold a sense of responsibility among party cadres and members in scrupulously complying with state law and regulations on the management of industry and trade and in satisfactorily implementing the party's lines and policies on transformation. Through transformation, we must train party members on the thinking and the viewpoint of the working class, enhance the fighting strength of leadership skills of various party organizations at the grassroots level, improve the managerial efficiency of state machinery at all levels, and uphold the role of mass organizations in the motivation of the masses. We must resolutely take disciplinary measures devised by the party and the state against those party cadres and members who are guilty of exploitation, of failure to observe the policy of socialist transformation, or of creating difficulties in the implementation of socialist transformation.

Led by the related party organizations, all state organs, mass organizations, and the Armed Forces must actively participate in carrying out this task by scrupulously implementing all the resolutions and policies of the party and the state on transformation while heightening their revolution vigilance against the enemy's schemes and tricks and resolving to defeat the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage.

The heads of various sectors at the central level and the chairmen of the people's committees at all levels must provide guidance for transformation work of their respective sectors and within their localities, without belittling this work or leaving it for their subordinate cadres to do.

Responsible organs at the central level, ministries, general departments, provinces, cities, precincts, and districts must strengthen and perfect all the elements in charge of transformation work in their sectors and localities, satisfactorily prepare plans for the implementation of transformation work, and positively and urgently train a contingent of competent managerial cadres with good qualities capable of assuming transformation work and handling the operations of various establishments during the post-transformation period.

Socialist transformation vis-a-vis private industry and trade is a rigorous class struggle of socialism against capitalism now taking place in the initial stage of the transitional period. Led by the Party Central Committee and managed by the government, we must firmly grasp proletarian dictatorship, develop the combined and uniform strength of various economic, mass education and motivation, organizational, and administrative measures, draw on experiences from past transformation activities, overcome shortcomings, develop those achievements gained, and continue to step up transformation activities to satisfactorily complete socialist transformation in private industry and trade as scheduled, thereby contributing to successfully implementing the resolution of the 5th Party Congress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, 1978, Volume 41, p 7.

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## SAFEGUARDING THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 8-11

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Safeguarding and improving the health of the people is a major undertaking, one closely associated with maintaining the defense of the fatherland and building socialism.

In recent years, achievements worthy of pride have been recorded in this undertaking. We have built a widespread and unified public health network throughout the country in exact accordance with the guidelines of a socialist public health system and are meeting virtually all of the needs involved in preventing and controlling diseases and the medical examination and health care needs of the people. Our large corps of professional and para-professional public health cadres has looked for every way to complete its task under difficult circumstances and has recorded many good results in battlefield emergency medical care, the prevention and control of diseases, the production of medicine and medical examinations and treatment by means of modern medical science and traditional, national medical science. Many of the achievements that we have recorded in surgery, acupuncture, the organizing of public health services and so forth have made significant contributions to world medical science, to safeguarding the health of man. The public health activities conducted in recent years have effectively supported production, the national defense system and the standard of living of our people.

However, many problems are still being faced, problems that demand serious thought and positive actions on our part. The environment, especially in the cities and industrial complexes, is seriously polluted. The shortage of funds, medicine, general purpose supplies, electricity, water and special purpose equipment is posing a major obstacle to emergency medical care, medical examinations and medical treatment. Progress is being made, although slowly, in developing upon the capabilities that exist, especially those in our traditional, national medical science and rich domestic sources of pharmaceuticals. Our efforts with regard to disease prevention hygiene and the planned parenthood campaign have not been continuous. The quality of public health activities has declined somewhat. Among some public health cadres, there are signs of negative phenomena deserving of concern. Public

health cadres and personnel, from the central to the basic levels, are encountering numerous difficulties in their daily lives.

Safeguarding and improving the health of the people is one of the foremost concerns of our party and state. In the face of the requirements involved in building socialism and maintaining the defense of the fatherland, especially in the initial stage of the period of transition, this problem has become more pressing than ever before. At present, the people are still encountering many difficulties in their daily lives. Crowded living conditions, shortages, the serious consequences of 30 years of war (the chemical defoliants spread on Vietnam by the United States, social diseases left behind by the old system), the wide-ranging sabotage being conducted by the enemy to weaken the spirit and health of our people and so forth, all of these things have been and are posing major obstacles to safeguarding and improving the health of our people.

In order to stabilize and improve the standard of living, accelerate production and strengthen the national defense system, we absolutely must attach importance to maintaining and improving the health of the people. The 5th Congress of the Party considered safeguarding the health of the people to be the most important, pressing and essential part of the first general economic and social objective in the 1980's.

Safeguarding and improving the health of the people is not only an objective, it is also the premise of socio-economic development; therefore, public health work must keep abreast of and support production, everyday life and national defense.

Protecting and cleaning the environment and building basic sanitation projects in conjunction with taking such disease prevention and control measures as vaccinations and food sanitation and labor sanitation measures in the vast agricultural areas, the lowlands and the mountains, in the South and the new economic zones, especially in the cities, the industrial zones and at large worksites and places where workers and cadres are working under extremely difficult conditions, are jobs to which special importance must be attached, jobs that must be guided in a resolute and concerted manner. The persons engaged in public health work as well as the various party committee echelons, levels of government and leaders of production must, at all times and places, display high vigilance and consciousness with regard to preventing disease because, if epidemics are allowed to occur, if epidemics are not promptly controlled, they will cause very serious harm, sometimes immeasurable, to production and the health of workers.

Organizing emergency medical care, medical examinations, medical treatment and the prevention and control of social diseases well, providing a full supply of medicine beginning on the basis level (the villages, subwards, enterprises, worksites and so forth) and operating under the guidance and with the assistance of the public health facilities on the upper line in order to detect and treat diseases as soon as they appear are the best methods to employ in medical treatment, are methods that reduce the difficulties encountered by the people, reduce waste by the state and benefit production. Only in this way can the district, provincial and municipal medical treatment

facilities reduce the intensity of their work and focus their efforts on improving the quality of medical examinations and medical treatment.

Planned parenthood is a matter of economic and social strategic significance: it makes a positive contribution to the liberation of women workers, the development of production and the improvement of everyone's living standard. By means of regular and continuous propaganda and education, by means of appropriate specialized measures and by means of correct regulations and policies, the public health and other sectors, together with the mass organizations, must make every effort to carry out this campaign well.

Good disease prevention hygiene, prompt medical examinations and medical treatment and the maintenance and improvement of the health of the people also have the purpose of strengthening the forces defending the fatherland. In order to support national defense tasks well, the public health sector must also attach importance to health management and the prevention and treatment of diseases among youths, help to carry out military inductions in a rapid and systematic manner, quickly strengthen the public health network in the border districts, closely coordinate military and civilian medical science, be prepared to support combat operations and help to build the districts into military fortresses.

Safeguarding and improving the health of the people is a long and arduous process. We must make every effort to display a high spirit of self-reliance and successfully implement the guidelines "the state and the people working together" and "the central level and the locality working together." Each province and municipality, each district and precinct, each installation and sector, most importantly the public health sector, must take the initiative and endeavor to safeguard and improve the health of the people as best possible under their specific conditions.

We must improve the system of public health organizations, giving attention first to the general public health care network in the countryside as well as the cities and industrial complexes, and must heighten the responsibility of the provincial, municipal and central public health agencies with regard to supporting general public health services.

We must make every effort to develop the many public health potentials that we have, such as our traditional, national medical science, domestic sources of pharmaceuticals and the abundant capabilities of our corps of public health cadres. In view of the present situation, it is even more necessary to promote the use of traditional, national medical science and attach importance to disease prevention and treatment methods that do not require medicine, such as acupuncture, blood-letting, massages, special diets and so forth. The various leadership levels must strengthen the agencies and components in charge of traditional, national medical science, provide both elementary and supplementary training to doctors and pharmacists who practice traditional, national medicine and adopt policies that encourage participation by good physicians in medical examinations and the treatment of disease. The abundant sources of pharmaceuticals within our country are large enough not only to meet the medical treatment needs of our people, but also provide an important source of exports that we can trade for the types of medicine that we still

lack. These sources of pharmaceuticals are a strength of ours; each locality must take positive steps to develop upon this strength in the years ahead under the guideline of each province and district selecting the several species of plants and animals that are best suited to its arable land, climate and experience in order to concentrate on developing the production of these species and processing medicine. We must do our best to build the pharmaceutical industry and the public health equipment industry; in particular, enterprises producing antibiotics must be constructed at an early date.

It is now a matter of pressing importance that we improve our organization and improve our work methods and management methods in order to utilize existing scientific cadres, technical cadres, equipment, machinery, medicines and public health facilities in the most economical and efficient manner possible under a division of labor, a division of echelons and quotas that are reasonable in view of our circumstances. The practices of not using manpower or materials at the right place, not making full use of capabilities or capacity and allowing breakdowns and waste to occur are contrary to the socialist public health viewpoint of serving the people.

Maintaining and improving the health of the people is an undertaking carried out by the masses under the leadership of the party. In view of the fact that the state is still encountering many difficulties, the people have contributed labor and money to the construction of many public health stations, maternity clinics and district hospitals and each person is conscious of caring for his or her own health. To develop upon this fine attitude, we must make every effort to more widely disseminate general knowledge concerning medical science and widely develop the various public health movements in which all the people participate, such as the patriotic hygiene movement and the emulation movement to clean up villages and fields and maintain clean and attractive streets. In particular, we must promote the "five complete jobs" movement, rapidly build sanitation projects, develop the practice of raising and using medicinal herbs, implement family planning well, manage the health of the people well and build a widespread basic public health network.

Obtaining the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, of friendly countries and international organizations is extremely necessary. We must learn and apply the advanced experiences of other countries, beginning with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, in order to obtain what we lack and improve the ability of our public health sector to be self-sufficient in the years ahead.

The most important role in safeguarding the health of the people is played by the corps of persons who are directly engaged in public health work. "Our state and people value the tremendous contributions made by the public health cadres from the central to the basic levels."(1) Although they still face difficulties in their daily lives, public health physicians, cadres and personnel have worked night and day to care for the health of the people. Many hospitals have implemented the slogan: "Everything for the health of patients." Many public health cadres have devoted themselves to research, developed highly efficacious methods of treatment and produced necessary types of medicine, thereby reducing the amount of foreign currency spent by the

state to purchase drugs from foreign countries. These are efforts that are very deserving of praise. However, besides these achievements, which represent the basic character of our public health system, there are more than a few negative phenomena among the persons engaged in public health work that must be harshly criticized and promptly corrected.

The lax management of drugs and the irresponsible attitude on the part of a small number of public health cadres cannot be allowed to continue. We must make a determined effort to eradicate all thoughts and actions that are foreign to the character of the socialist physician, such as the thinking that physicians are doing patients a favor, bureaucracy, arrogance, authoritarianism and conspiracy and bribery in many different forms.

Our party has clearly stated: "Safeguarding the health of the people is a noble revolutionary task"(2) to those persons who are engaged in public health work. As more importance is being attached to safeguarding the health of the people and to the role played by public health cadres, are party demands that public health cadres do even more to cultivate proper thinking, improve their political, specialized and professional qualifications and cultivate revolutionary ethics in keeping with the teaching of Uncle Ho that "a physician be as good and kind as a mother." Together with raising the political and ideological level, improving the specialized skills and ethical qualities and cultivating the spirit and attitude of service of public health cadres, the various levels of the party and government must look for ways to stabilize and improve the standard of living of public health cadres and personnel from the central to the basic levels.

Safeguarding and improving the health of the people are the responsibility of the entire party, of all our people, the responsibility of all sectors, circles and localities, primarily the public health sector. In order to bring about strong changes in this work, we must strengthen the leadership provided by the various party committee echelons, improve the guidance provided the various levels of government, establish good coordination between the public health sector and the localities and other sectors and the public health sector itself must make major efforts.

Despite the general difficulties being faced now, many public health facilities have been able to manage and care for the health of the people well. The public health sector must promptly review and widely disseminate good experiences and good work methods while promoting the emulation movement to follow the example set by advanced model units. Public health cadres, the soldiers who have the noble function of caring for the life of man, must recognize their glorious task, display the ethics of a socialist public health cadre and devote the full measure of their intellect and energy to serving the cause of safeguarding and improving the health of the people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 60.
2. Ibid.

SPEECH BY TRUONG CHINH TO THE CADRES AND PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES OF DONG NAI PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 12-21, 50

[August address by CPV Political Bureau member Truong Chinh]

[Text] Dear comrades and compatriots,

I am very elated to be visiting Dong Nai for the first time amid the atmosphere of the August Revolution anniversary and preparations for the 2 September National Day.

People throughout the country know well that Dong Nai was once a stalwart part of the country's southern fortress, a province of courageous people in the eastern theater of operations and a firm base area during the two resistance struggles against French colonialism and the U.S. imperialists. From the era of the anti-French resistance struggle, the example of indomitableness set by Sister Vo Thi Sau--a girl of the red soil area--has been ingrained into the minds of today's generation as well as future generations as an eternal saga of heroism. During the anti-U.S. resistance struggle, the names of countless forest areas, mountain peaks and river portions in Dong Nai designated scores of resounding armed exploits which went into the glorious history of 30 years of resistance for national salvation.

The country will remember the merits of those cadres, party members, combatants and compatriots in Dong Nai who bravely sacrificed for national defense and construction.

Close solidarity in combat and steel-like confidence in the leadership of the party and Uncle Ho has been constantly fostered and promoted through countless ordeals and has become a glorious and prideworthy tradition for the Dong Nai people.

Today, in harmony with the development of the revolution in the south following liberation, this tradition of solidarity has increased several-fold. This is a guarantee for the party organization and people of Dong Nai to continually and vigorously advance in building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland in a forward position at the very gates of Ho Chi Minh

City, linking the city with the former B2 provinces of the coastal areas of southern Trung Bo.

Through my visits to some of the primary installations, my meetings with cadres, workers and peasants and my working with the provincial leaders, I am elated and deeply impressed by what I have seen and heard about the progress achieved by you and the people in the province.

On this occasion, I would like to convey to all cadres, party members, combatants and people in the province, the attentive regards of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade General Secretary Le Duan and of the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers. I would also like to convey my warmest regards to all sick and wounded soldiers, the surviving dependents of fallen heroes, the revolutionary families and cadres who have long served in Dong Nai. Now, I would like to make some suggestions on the following three issues:

- Initial achievements and developments.
- Some urgent tasks of the Dong Nai party organization.
- Develop dynamism and creativity, and steadily advance Dong Nai to socialism.

I will only stress some noteworthy points in these issues.

#### I. Initial Achievements and Development

Dear comrades and compatriots,

Since liberation, the party organization and people of Dong Nai Province have strenuously struggled and scored many successes in carrying out socialist transformation, building the economy, developing culture, firmly maintaining political security and social order and security, and gradually consolidating the party, administration and mass organizations. Production and the people's life has gradually returned to normalcy. The general situation in the province has become increasingly more positive, creating conditions for further and even more vigorous development in the future.

On the economic front, the party organization and people of Dong Nai have scored considerable achievements. They have overcome the heavy consequences of 30 years of devastating war and have exerted continuous effort on the agricultural production front to stabilize the cultivation of 211,000 hectares of crops and develop the production of grain, food products and industrial crops. As a result, they have balanced the distribution of grain within the province and made some contributions to the state. The people's livelihood has begun to improve.

As regards socialist transformation, they have eliminated the compradore bourgeoisie in the cities, concentrated hundreds of small and large factories into state hands and made considerable progress in agricultural cooperativization. They have increased the production forces of various economic sectors in the province and have gradually built material and technical bases. In the field of distribution and circulation, they have

strived to surge forward to control the sources of goods in support of production, export and livelihood.

The above mentioned achievements are a cause of pride for the party organization and people in Dong Nai who have resolved economic and livelihood problems through their own efforts and with the assistance of the central government and other provinces. They have opened good prospects for better exploiting the existing potentials and overcoming difficulties so as to steadily advance the economy of Dong Nai Province.

On the cultural front, the party organization and people of Dong Nai have also scored some definite achievements. Education has been transformed along the socialist line. Considerable progress has also been made in training cadres, studying and applying technology, caring for the people's health, struggling against decadent and reactionary culture left behind by the U.S.-puppet regime and building a new culture. More and more examples of socialist ethics have appeared in national defense and construction. However, complicated problems still exist on this front. They are problems on the road toward maturity and they can be overcome.

As regards the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, important progress has been made in mopping up and disintegrating hundreds of reactionary organizations, detecting and arresting some of the CIA agents and other spies, struggling against reactionaries disguised as religious people and preventing sea escapees and infiltrators from outside. Results have also been obtained in punishing criminals, educating and transforming villains and those who disrupt order or perform illegal jobs. Consequently, political security and social order and security have been firmly maintained, assuring the necessary conditions for the normal operation of all sectors at all levels.

The party bases, administration, mass organizations and the people's armed forces have been developed and consolidated in nearly all localities of the province. Emphasis has been placed on the basic and advanced training of key cadres and party members who, together with some cadres reassigned from the central government and other localities, have developed the tradition of mutual aid in fulfilling all the assigned duties. The abilities of all sectors and echelons in the province with respect to leadership, management and organization have been enhanced.

On behalf of the party and state, I warmly welcome and cite the achievements of the party organization, the administration, the people's armed forces and the Vietnam Fatherland Front in Dong Nai Province. Previously they were fighting stalwartly and making outstanding contributions to the liberation of the south and the country's unification. Now they are scoring important achievements in building and defending the socialist fatherland. In commend the advanced units and individuals of the various organizations managerially controlled by the central or local governments who have performed outstandingly over the past 8 years in all the fields of work, especially in developing production, stabilizing livelihood and consolidating security and national defense.

## II. Some Urgent Tasks of Dong Nai Party Organization

I will not mention all the socio-economic issues which you will have to deal with over the long term, but will only refer to the fundamental spirit of the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress and the Party Central Committee 3rd and 4th Plenums to point out some urgent problems that you should concentrate on satisfactorily resolving in the immediate future.

Develop all the economic strengths of Dong Nai Province.

The Party Central Committee's 4th Plenum stressed: each locality must surge forward in the spirit of mastery to exploit all its strengths so as to balance its own demands and make contributions to the state.

What economic strengths does Dong Nai Province have and what should we do to develop them?

With an area of 7,650 square kilometers of natural land and the population of 1.4 million people, Dong Nai Province is one of the major provinces in the country. It has the two most valuable assets--land and labor--to build itself into a prosperous province. In addition to forests and seas, Dong Nai has a large area of land suitable for growing cereals, food and industrial crops (short and long term). The Bien Hoa industrial complex is a relatively strong mechanized force for Dong Nai and has fairly skilled workers. Moreover, Dong Nai has a long-standing force of traditional handicrafts and artisan industry.

With such favorable conditions and great potentials, Dong Nai should develop its four strengths: agriculture, industry, forestry and fishery to promptly build itself into a province with a rational industrial-agricultural structure.

To develop these strengths, it is imperative first of all to resolve by all means the problems of grain and food products for the provincial people, to provide a considerable amount of food to the central government and to begin by establishing a reserve. The current per capita ration of 280 kg is considered still low. Consequently, food remains a burning problem. To resolve this urgent economic problem, Dong Nai should promptly institute a plan to deal with the current situation of too vast an area of fallow land, many wantonly destroyed forests, improperly exploited seas and underemployment of labor.

We should accelerate intensive cultivation and multicropping and expand the movement for high yield rice fields. We must actively enlarge the rice area by building small and medium irrigation projects in those localities where surveys and plans have been made. We should implement the method of combining agriculture with forestry and growing companion grain and subsidiary food crops on afforested land and the area of long-term industrial plants. At the same time, problems of processing and consumption must be resolved to bring subsidiary food into the diet and to increase the sources of feed for animals and of items to trade with other provinces.

On the basis of consistently resolving the food problems, Dong Nai should continue to develop its strengths in terms of forests and industrial plants. The urgent requirement is to rapidly recover some 100,000 hectares of destroyed forests with greenery and to resolutely prevent destruction. We should vigorously develop such short-term industrial crops as soybean, green bean, peanut, sugarcane and tobacco. With regard to long-term plants, rubber must be considered as the main plant while emphasis should also be placed on coffee, palm, cashew, coconut and so forth.

To develop the strengths in agriculture and forestry, more attention should be paid to developing industry. We should actively and promptly build the economic industrial-agricultural structure of the province and a rational economic structure for each district to insure the combination of industry with agriculture in districts. Industry, handicrafts and artisan industry should effectively support agricultural production. We should strive to develop all the processing sectors to process agricultural and forest products, especially subsidiary food crops, rubber, coffee, sugarcane and tobacco. At the same time, we should develop some sectors--wherever conditions permit--to provide production means and consumer goods to the provincial people and to trade with other localities such as construction materials, wooden ware and pottery. It is necessary to thoroughly understand the guideline: the state and the people and the central and local governments work together to help build the Tri An Hydroelectric Power Plant so as to provide more electricity for industry, agriculture and handicraft and artisan industries. There must be various forms of coordination to rationally link the production and business of locally-run industries with that of the centrally run industries in the province and between Dong Nai and other provinces in order to increase consumer goods and raw materials for industry, handicrafts and artisan industry, and for export.

To sum up, on the basis of exploiting all its economic strengths, Dong Nai should struggle to promptly balance the value of its goods provided to the central government with the value of goods received from the central government, and to surpass the value of centrally supplied goods in order to help industrialize the country.

We should master the battlefield of distribution and circulation. Considerable progress has been noted on this front in Dong Nai in the past few years. In late April, the provincial party committee issued Resolution number 05 on strengthening socialist trade, managing the market and transforming private trade. The resolution pointed out the achievements and set forth the tasks to be done. This is a good reason for joy because it proves that you have fully realized the urgency of the current burning issue of distribution and circulation.

There are still many complicated problems on the distribution and circulation front. Just as the provincial party committee resolution pointed out: We have not been able to control all the goods and cash (controlled amounts are 44 percent of the gross production volume: 27.7 percent of pork, 21.6 percent of sea fish, 14 percent of peanut and so forth). Significant amounts of goods and cash which should have been controlled by us have been siphoned off onto the free market. The capitalists and private traders have competed with us to

purchase agricultural products and industrial goods. Through speculation, smuggling, under the counter dealings and tax evasion, they have pulled large amounts of goods out from the state-run economy. As a result of having huge amounts of cash in hand, they can rotate goods and cash beyond our control, harassing and sabotaging us cruelly. As they increase the price of rice, so the prices of other commodities will also increase, shrinking the wages of workers, civil servants and troops.

This situation has adversely affected production and management, eroding our plans and making them less and less effective. Obviously, if we cannot control goods and cash we will not be able to control the production volume turned out by society. For a long time now, we have usually stressed the issue of increasing production volume but rarely do we pay attention to the question of who will be controlling that production volume--the state or the private sector. Realities show that we have lost no small amount of goods and materials to the capitalists and private traders.

As the producer of a large volume of agricultural products, handicraft and artisan industry items, Dong Nai should have a plan to control that volume. Moreover, it must adopt many economic, administrative and educational measures to control the majority of industrial products turned out by production collectives and individuals. We must gradually monopolize the control of food and other agricultural products of high value. We must intensify the managerial control of materials and goods in state-run economic installations, discontinue to siphoning off of goods to the free market and prohibit the trade of technical materials and equipment in the free market. We should expand socialist trade and business and advance toward mastering the market, positively transform and administer the free market, and resolutely eliminate capitalist traders from the rural and urban markets.

The livelihood of cadres, workers, civil servants and armed forces poses an urgent problem to be rapidly and satisfactorily resolved by the Dong Nai party organization. In this regard, the main task is to accelerate production and, on this basis, to control goods and cash so as to insure the adequate and timely supply of rationed staple commodities. We can distribute the non-rationed commodities at directed prices. Moreover, we should correctly implement the systems of contractual and piecework wages in the domain of production in accordance with the conclusion of the Political Bureau which amends Decision number 25CP of the Council of Ministers.

On the front of distribution and circulation, you should primarily pay attention to Bien Hoa City. This is the place where industrial goods, handicraft and artisan industry items are produced, and where workers and civil servants are concentrated to constitute a major consumer market. It is at the same time an area of harassment operations by the bourgeois and other traders from the city itself or from Ho Chi Minh City and other provinces. Consequently, all sectors and primary installations of the central and provincial governments which are situated in this locality must coordinate their efforts to master by all means the market in Bien Hoa City so as to help to decisively stabilize production and life in the province.

Distribution and circulation constitute the battleground of a hard and complicated struggle. There must consequently be close and uniform coordination on this front among the various related sectors with respect to policies, measures and realistic operations. We should concentrate the collective mind on conducting thorough research, seeking specific measures and taking correct and positive action to vigorously accelerate production, control goods and cash, master the market and stabilize livelihood.

Along with establishing socialist order on the distribution and circulation front, Dong Nai should accelerate the socialist transformation of non-socialist economic elements.

Some definite achievements in transforming private capitalist trade have been scored in the past few years. We have eliminated the compradore bourgeoisie, transformed a major part of the private capitalist trade, collectivized part of the handicrafts and artisan industry, raised the scale of various forms of collective work, and organized, arranged and employed some of the small merchants in some vital sectors.

In agriculture we have collectivized 19 percent of the peasants' households with 18 percent of cultivated land to establish 14 cooperatives, 648 production collectives and nearly 1,500 production solidarity teams. Of these figures, 60 percent of cooperatives and more than 70 percent of production collectives have applied product contracts with individual workers. Under the movement, many advanced cooperatives and production collectives have appeared.

The provincial party committee, however, realizes that the transformation of private capitalist trade and industry, handicraft and artisan industry has been somewhat neglected recently and the agricultural cooperativization movement has developed slowly, irregularly and unsteadily. Generally speaking, we have not regularly and continuously consolidated and perfected production relations and have not clearly realized the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in the initial stage of the transition period, the attachment of production relations to production forces and the task of building a unified socialist economy throughout the country.

Socialist transformation constitutes the fundamental task of the revolution in production relations. It is aimed at eliminating human exploitation, establishing new socialist production relations, paving the way for the development of production forces and bringing our economy from small to large-scale socialist production.

The Dong Nai provincial party organization should struggle to basically complete the transformation of private trade and industry by 1985, promptly and completely eliminate capitalism in trade and gradually transfer unnecessary small merchants in the circulation sector to production and various service operations. We should struggle to fulfill the provincial party organization's 3rd congress resolution to collectivize from 70 to 80 percent of peasants, using the popular form of production collectives. The remaining peasants will be organized into production solidarity teams.

We should closely combine transformation with construction, using the latter as a mainstay. We transform to step up construction and we build to accelerate and consolidate transformation. In transformation, we must cling to construction and in building we should not slacken transformation. Construction is already implied when we are transforming, which is why transformation and construction go together. What is the content of construction?

A. On the basis of eliminating capitalist production relations, we will define socialist production relations with respect to the three systems of ownership, management and distribution. That ownership of the means of production is established does not mean that new production relations will immediately appear. If we do not attentively build the systems of ownership, management and distribution, the new production relations will not be able to promote production forces. After transforming and eliminating the old production relations, if we fail to develop the replacement ones, the old relations will sooner or later reappear.

The elimination of capitalist production relations must be closely linked to the elimination of private ownership over the means of production. This includes the socialist transformation of small producers and merchants because "small-scale production is daily and hourly generating capitalism and bourgeoisie"(1) and because "capitalism rallies small production and capitalism is born of small production."(2)

B. We must build and reorganize production and business in the entire province and in every economic-technical sector, locality and primary installation. We must develop and perfect the socialist economic management system using planning as a central task, correctly apply the economic law of socialism in the initial stage of the transition period, insure state control over large numbers of commodities for planning distribution to meet the rational demands of society, and insure harmonious combination of the three interests of society, the collective and individual workers.

Pending and after transformation, we should make full use of the material and technical bases on hand, positively build and develop production forces and quickly apply scientific and technical innovations to production. This means that following transformation, not only have we to maintain production and business but also struggle to step up production and business and stabilize and improve workers' livelihood even better than before transformation is carried out. Only by doing so, can we achieve the goals of the revolution in production relations which are to promote production, increase labor productivity and pave the way for production forces to develop.

As a result, the program of construction here involves the building of new production relations and production forces.

C. We must gradually build the system under which the party leads, the people control and the state administers. We should build the party into a nucleus in all production installations and business units, strengthen the administration at all levels, especially in city wards, villages, districts and precincts; develop and intensify the activities of mass organizations and

strive to develop the collective mastery of all organizations over production, distribution and the organization of material and cultural life in primary production installations.

Socialist transformation is the process of constantly changing the five economic elements in Dong Nai along the lines of building, consolidating and increasingly developing and strengthening the state-run and collective economies, of gradually transforming, restricting and finally eliminating the capitalist economy, and of retaining and reorganizing the joint private-state economy for some time. As for the family economy that now occupies an important position, it should be properly emphasized. Nevertheless, the family economy is not an economic element over and above aforementioned elements. For example, the family economy of cooperative members stays within the orbit of the socialist economy while the family economy of individual producers pertains to the collective economy element.

In the process of transformation, we should keenly examine negative phenomena in socio-economic life through the party's class viewpoint and struggle. At a time when speculators, smugglers, illicit businessmen and thieves are using all tricks to disrupt the market and occupy the socialist economy, production and business installations of the socialist economic element should organize a resolute offensive to defeat them. We should not be driven into the whirlwind of spontaneous capitalism.

At present, as the socialist economic elements have not been perfected and well managed, many of the administrative, bureaucratic and subsidized institutions are being eliminated. However, since the new institutions have not been well established or perfected, the socialist economy is not yet able to surge forward to master the market and is not strong enough to effectively deal with the tendencies of small producers toward spontaneous capitalism and toward restoring the capitalism of the bourgeoisie. This is not to mention the heavy consequences of 30 years of war and the cruel and insidious plots of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who are colluding with the U.S. imperialists to wage a multifaceted war of sabotage against our people.

The class struggle is taking place in a fierce and complex manner during the process of socialist transformation. To win victory in this struggle, we must decisively strive to develop and strengthen the socialist economy, and consolidate and develop the state-run and collective economic areas. In the fields of distribution and circulation, those sectors operating on this front should actively participate in the struggle so as to expand the socialist battleground and effectively repel the spontaneous capitalist force.

Firmly grasping the general and economic lines of the party in the entire transition period, the Dong Nai party organization should continue to accelerate the socialist transformation of non-socialist economic elements and overcome the delay in guiding the cooperativization movement but avoid haste, impatience and simplism in doing much and fast work.

Dong Nai has scored encouraging achievements in security and national defense. Dong Nai is a province with many forests and mountains, and a long and sinuous coastline, and is bordered by many complicated areas. Internally, the FULRO

clique [United Front for the Liberation of Oppressed Races--FBIS] and the reactionaries disguised as religious people are still operating clandestinely. As a result, the enemy will continue to infiltrate into our ranks and sabotage us and our struggle will be hard and complicated.

You, comrades, have satisfactorily implemented the Political Bureau resolution number 3 on the struggle against the multifaceted war of sabotage by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists. You should implement even better this important resolution of the Political Bureau.

Cadres, party members and the people in the province should be broadly and profoundly educated so that they can be well aware of the enemy's new plots and remain constantly vigilant against them without any doubt over the enemy's schemes.

The provincial armed forces must be regularly consolidated and strengthened. We must fulfill the troop recruitment task by correctly educating the people and youths, making them fully understand the military obligation law so that they can fulfill their national defense duty.

The role of the masses and primary installations in exercising collective mastery over security and national defense must be vigorously promoted. Relying on the masses and under party leadership, the administration must fulfill its duty of proletarian dictatorship.

With respect to ideological and organization tasks, in the immediate future, the party organization and people of Dong Nai Province should struggle hard to fully and scrupulously implement the Party Central Committee's 4th Plenum resolution on the ideological and organizational tasks, insuring the successful implementation of the above mentioned urgent socio-economic tasks.

In implementing the ideological and organizational tasks, we must be fully aware of the scope of socialist industrialization in the initial stage of the transition period which is: to concentrate on the vigorous development of agriculture, considering agriculture the first front on which to advance toward large-scale socialist production; strive to accelerate the production of consumer goods; continue to build some of the important heavy industries; and combine agriculture, the consumer goods industry and heavy industries into a rational agro-industrial structure.

Cadres and the people of Dong Nai Province should be educated to correctly understand the period of transition to socialism without any confusion on the class struggle and the struggle between the two paths in the economic, political, social, cultural and ideological domains so as to definitely resolve the problem of "who will defeat whom" in Dong Nai Province.

The ideological and organizational tasks must be a guarantee for fully enabling the state to establish socialist order on the distribution and circulation front. The question of prime importance is that on the basis of vigorously accelerating production, the state must be able to control goods and cash in order to master distribution, circulation and consumption. We

must firmly control all the key economic sectors and vigorously develop the state-run economy on the basis of controlling large amounts of products and fighting corruption, losses and siphoning off.

The urgent requirements of the present ideological and organizational tasks are to positively build a new culture and new socialist men, foster and develop collective mastery and a creative labor spirit and raise the standard of cultural and scientific knowledge, giving Marxism-Leninism a predominant position in society. These requirements can be fulfilled only through consistent propaganda and education in the course of productive labor and the struggle to carry out socialist transformation and build socialism.

On the national defense and security front, the ideological and organizational tasks should make cadres and the people in Dong Nai Province well aware of the reactionary nature and cruel plots of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists vis-a-vis Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries. On this basis, we will constantly heighten vigilance and closely watch the development and operational capabilities so that we can take timely action and adopt suitable policies to cope with them victoriously.

### III. Develop the Independence and Creativity of Dong Nai and Steadily Advance to Socialism

Dear comrades and compatriots,

Our entire country, like Dong Nai, has proceeded from generally small-scale production to advance directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. Given such a characteristic, we have to transform the old things and radically build the new ones. We must create new production forces, new production relations, new economic installations, a new superstructure, new material and moral lives and a new culture.

This process requires our leadership to think profoundly, firmly grasp the peculiarities of localities, develop the initiative and experience of the masses, correctly research, study and apply the law of advancing from small to large-scale socialist production; carry out socialist industrialization; build industrial-agricultural structures; develop production and gradually stabilize and improve the people's living conditions. We must be dynamic and creative and not sluggish, conservative or dogmatic and parroting. We must proceed from the vivid realities, stand firmly on our ground, thoroughly understand the general and economic lines of the party and creatively apply them to the specific situation.

We must scientifically organize and guide the implementation of resolutions. It is necessary to correctly adopt resolutions, but, after adopting them, the problem is to act upon them. Organizing their implementation plays a decisive role. There should consequently be a really scientific method of work to make the period from when resolutions are prepared until they are implemented and after their implementation into a continuous process of development deriving from the realistic situation which allows us to promptly seize the people's suggestions. Only through such a method can we insure the correct, uniform and highly effective implementation of resolutions. We must know how to

detect new factors and foster and disseminate good models. We must satisfactorily perform the tasks of supervising, controlling, reviewing and deriving experiences, and of justly and sternly applying the system of rewards and punishment. Bureaucracy, unreality, inertness in life, conservatism, sluggishness or liberalism, casualness, disorganization and indiscipline not only prevent us from providing scientific leadership but also from developing dynamism and the creativity of the masses.

The building of a contingent of cadres in Dong Nai Province is a matter of extreme importance. We should urgently train scores of replacement cadres from among workers, laboring peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. We should develop to the greatest extent the leadership ability and experience of old cadres who have gone through many ordeals in the course of their revolutionary life. At the same time, we should emphasize basic and advanced training and the promotion of young and female cadres in leadership and managerial tasks and in scientific and technical work. Our party's policy toward cadres is to combine the experience of old cadres with the ability of young cadres to surge forward in order to develop the good points of each type of cadre. Dong Nai Province also has a force of cadres coming from the central and provincial governments. Many of them have been attached to Dong Nai for several years now. The party committee and administration at all echelons should properly assess this matter, practically assist these cadres, rationally employ them and create conditions for them to work at ease so that they consider Dong Nai as their second home.

Dear comrades and compatriots, with the traditional solidarity and revolutionary creativity of the party organization and people of Dong Nai Province, in the light of the Party Central Committee's 4th Plenum resolution and with the positive assistance of other provinces and people throughout the country, the party organization and people of Dong Nai Province will certainly be able to develop their great potentials and basically favorable conditions, overcome difficulties, steadily advance to socialism and build Dong Nai into a prosperous province.

I wish you, comrades and compatriots, good health, happiness and success in implementing the resolutions of the 5th Nationwide Party Congress and the Dong Nai Provincial Party Organization 3rd Congress.

I hope you score even more and greater achievements in productive labor and work to fulfill the 1983 plan and make good preparations for the 1984-85 plan.

I wish all the elders good health and longevity.

I wish you, youths, teenagers and children cheerfulness, progress in learning and good qualities to remain always worthy of being Uncle Ho's nice nephews and nieces.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 7.
2. Ibid., Volume 43, p 188.

CSO: 4210/16

## THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL, THE TOOL THROUGH WHICH THE WORKING PEOPLE EXERCISE COLLECTIVE MASTERY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 22-26

[Article by Nguyen Huu Tho]

[Text] The mechanism that has become the formula of our party, a formula that was recorded in the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Congresses of the party and which will surely remain in effect until our country completes its socialist construction, is: the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise mastery. This is the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint applied to the realities of Vietnam on the basis of an overall view of the development of socialism in accordance with the laws governing its development and with attention given to the experiences gained in the process of development of the fraternal socialist countries.

Within this mechanism, the agencies elected by the people play an especially important role because, according to our country's Constitution, they are the embodiment of the working people's function of being the masters of society and directly manage society.

Socialist democracy is distinguished from the other democracies by its class nature--by whose interests it serves--and by the fact that the working masses themselves decide all issues of major as well as minor importance facing the country. This right is guaranteed by our country's Constitution: "In the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the collective master is the working people..."(Article 3); "in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all power belongs to the people. The people exercise state power through the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels, which are elected by and responsible to the people..."(Article 6); "the National Assembly is the highest representative body of the people, the highest agency of state authority within the Socialist Republic of Vietnam..."(Article 82); "the People's Council, which is the agency of state authority on the local level, is elected by the local people and is responsible to the local people and the government on the upper level..."(Article 114). Whereas the National Assembly has the authority to elect and remove from office the members of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, the people's councils on the various levels have the authority to elect and remove from office the members of the

people's committees on the various levels and the authority to amend or cancel inappropriate decisions by the people's committee on the same level or by the people's council on the next lower level...

Democracy is an objective need of man for increasing freedom, increasing equality in interpersonal relationships. This need is as pressing as man's need to gain increasingly effective control over nature in order to improve his material life. These needs are the two halves of a whole, are the essence of and the moving force behind the development of history on our planet.

Democracy is a living entity. A given democracy is the product of a given society and, at the same time, as a form of consciousness, it helps to stimulate the advance of society and changes as this advance is being made.

The success of the socialist revolution in our country meant that our people had firm foundations upon which to establish an ideal democracy, a democracy that had been the dream of many generations, had the conditions needed to develop democracy from an aspiration into a system of law and closely link this democracy to the liberation of production forces and the creation of new relationships, thereby insuring our country and our working people of a future totally different from their past.

Thus, socialist democracy has had to develop by degrees in the course of its continuous improvement. Each degree has reflected the special characteristics of each specific period, characteristics on which democracy--that is, the rights of the working people--must be consciously based: domestic and foreign circumstances, the political and security situation, the level of development of the country's economy and culture and so forth. As regards culture, that is, the ability of the working masses to accept and exercise democratic rights, Lenin said: "We are very well aware of the significance of the backward cultural state of Russia and its influence upon the Soviet government, a government that, in principle, has brought into existence the highest level of proletarian democracy, a model of democracy for the entire world; we know the shame that this cultural backwardness has brought upon the Soviet government and how it has restored bureaucracy."(1)

The problem faced is that we must accept the inevitable degree of democracy of each specific period; at the same time, we should never view socialist democracy as something rigid or view the inevitability of each specific period as synonymous with the goals that socialist democracy must always be compelled to meet. Above everything and despite certain regulations established during each specific stage, the requirements of establishing, strengthening and improving socialist democracy are always the foremost concern of communists, a concern based on the view that implementing democracy is not a matter of being magnanimous or doing a favor for the masses, but is the obligation of the ruling party to the masses. The achievements of socialism are always marked by progress in improving the material and cultural lives of the working people and progress in the democratic life of all society. Democracy is the basis for achieving centralization; moreover, our concept of dictatorship must be upheld on the foundation of socialist democracy.

In summary, as Lenin said, "We should never consider our activities, in general, or our Constitution, in particular, to be perfect models... We will not maintain them for 'eternity'"(2), because socialist democracy demands constant improvement. The resolutions of our party, the Constitution and many other laws of our state confirm the fact that socialist democracy is a characteristic of the socialist revolution in Vietnam; on the other hand, they have set specific targets and stages of development for each period and always emphasized that the need to implement democracy, to bring democracy into social life and protect and develop it is one of the strategic tasks of our party and state.

According to the Constitution, the government organization of our country is divided into four levels: the central level, the provincial (or the municipal or special zone) level, the district (or precinct, city or municipality directly subordinate to the province) level and the village (or subward or town) level.

This article presents a few thoughts concerning the role of the people's council, that is the local elected agency.

To begin with, it is necessary to state the following: in view of the fact that our entire country is still an agricultural country that is underdeveloped economically and socially—it is among the few dozen countries that have the lowest per capita income in the world—we have made management by territory the general framework within which we operate. In the future, when our level of industrial development is higher and when an industrial-agricultural structure has become the foundation of the country's entire economy, the situation existing then will lead us to a new and appropriate division of management levels. There is nothing permanent about this division of levels. The division of management levels by territory has no purpose in and of itself other than to enable us to select the optimum form of management in view of the circumstances that exist. Whenever it becomes obvious that the present division of management levels is no longer having a positive impact or is beginning to pose obstacles to the development of production, we will examine and change it.

Today, all administrative levels throughout our country, from the provincial to the village levels, have people's councils elected directly by the people through secret ballots. In many localities, the democratic nature of the people's council election has been respected, consequently, they have generated confidence and enthusiasm among the electorate and the people's councils at these places are able to perform their function. Many people's councils have made an effort to express the aspirations of the masses to the people's committee, have contributed their opinions concerning the management of work by the committee and have maintained regular people's council activities and a close relationship with the electorate. Worthy of mention is this regard are the people's councils of Ho Chi Minh City, Long An Province and other places. The people's council on the municipal level has had a liaison committee for many years, the purpose of which is to keep abreast of the situation and make preparations for each session of the people's council; during each session of the people's committee, it reports on the work situation, responds to inquiries and records proposals made by delegates. As

a result, each session has attracted the attention of the masses. Long An Province has made the innovation of putting the people's council (and the executive committees of the mass organizations) in charge of every aspect of work in the villages and hamlets that do not have a party base or in which the party base is still thin and weak. The party chapter committees and the district party committee select persons from among the outstanding delegates on the people's councils (and members of the executive committees of the mass organizations) to be party members.

As regards procedures, all people's committees are elected by the people's councils. At present, the specific procedures and the relationship between the people's council and the people's committee are not being respected at all places.

Recently, the National Assembly ratified and the Council of State promulgated the Law on the Organization of the People's Councils and the People's Committees on the Various Levels, a law which represents a step forward in strengthening the apparatus of the state by codifying one of the key elements of our management system.

However, bringing the people's councils to the point where they fulfill their role in exact accordance with the constitution and the law remains a pressing problem in view of the requirement of perfecting our system of socialist democracy. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress observed: ..."A number of elected agencies are still elected agencies in name only and are not fulfilling the function, task or authority stipulated in the Constitution. This is a weakness in the operation of the state apparatus as well as a shortcoming in the leadership work of the party..."(3)

In the coming months, in order to correct the situation mentioned above, the People's Councils on the various levels must focus their efforts on resolving the following problems:

1. The people's councils on the various levels must consist of true representatives of the working people, that is, of persons whom voters know by sight and by name, persons whose background is known to voters, who live and fight alongside them, have close relations with them, have their respect and trust. We must put an end to the practice of delegates only meeting with the electorate during the days preceding the election.
2. Because the task of managing the country is raising increasingly strict demands regarding competency and ethics, people's council delegates must be persons who have a good reputation, are politically qualified and possess knowledge concerning production as well as economic, social and cultural management.
3. The selection of people's council delegates must be democratic in spirit and comply with legal procedures; candidates for election must be nominated by the Fatherland Front after consulting with the mass organizations and widely assessing the opinions of the masses. Everything involved in the selection of candidates must be conducted in an open, clear manner.

The people's councils can only achieve prestige when the masses freely and seriously select delegates suited to them. In this case and only in this case can the people's council truly be the tool through which the working people exercise mastery, truly be an authoritative voice representing the electorate.

4. The people's councils on the various levels are agencies of state authority within the locality; therefore, they must improve their knowledge of management work so that they can either directly manage work or inspect and supervise the management work of the government and are fully capable of fulfilling the responsibilities stipulated within the Constitution and the law. It is necessary to distinguish between the people's council and the National United Front. Although the structure of the people's council can consist of representatives of many different strata and although their practical activities of the people's council embody the policy of national unity, the people's council is a unique organization, an organization that operates as a state agency and has the authority to manage society; meanwhile, the front is a conditional alliance of different social forces whose primary mode of operation is to seek unanimity through consultation.

5. In the relationship between the people's councils and the people's committees on the various levels, there must be full compliance with the articles of the Constitution and the Law on the Organization of the People's Councils and the People's Committees. On the basis of Article 115 of the Constitution, Article 24 of the law clearly states that the following matters "must be debated and resolved during sessions of the people's council": deciding upon the plan and the estimated budget of the locality; approving the implementation of the plan and the final budget accounting; deciding the guidelines and major policies concerning the economy, culture, society, security and national defense; examining the work reports of the people's committee; electing and removing from office members of the people's committee; amending or cancelling inappropriate decisions by the people's committee, etc. By correctly implementing Article 24 of the law, the people's council fulfills the major portion of its function.

The correct implementation of Article 24 requires that the people's council not be an agency in name only.

6. Articles 27, 28 and 29 of the Law on the Organization of the People's Councils and the People's Committees are of very practical significance in insuring that the people's councils keep abreast of the situation. In the specialized committees and the office of the secretary, the people's councils have acquired additional means by which to perform their work. The problem faced now is that of creating the specific conditions needed for these committees to operate.

7. The people's committee has the responsibility of reporting to and requesting the opinions of the people's council concerning all work of the committee, must respond to requests by the council for information on the situation and must reply to the inquiries of the council as well as comply with the decisions of the council with regard to discouraging, amending or even cancelling decisions by the committee which the council feels are inappropriate.

This is a principle embodied within the law, not a matter of "magnanimity" on the part of the committee. It is also necessary to clearly state one viewpoint: the relationship between the people's council and the people's committee is a close structural relationship, one that in no way involves the position in the party of the persons within these two agencies.

The resolution of the 5th Congress of the Party Stated: "We must endeavor...to insure that the people's councils on the various levels operate in a manner befitting their position as the agency of state authority within the locality, the agency that decides the important matters in the building of the locality..."(4)

The crux of the issue, as Lenin said, is: "In theory, the soviet government apparatus is the government apparatus of all working masses; in practice, however, none of us is surprised that we are still far from achieving this. It is not because the law poses obstacles, as was the case under the bourgeois regime. To the contrary, our laws have created favorable conditions. However, in this issue, the law alone is not enough. Rather, it is necessary to perform a large amount of educational, organizational and cultural work, work that cannot be quickly completed through the use of the law, work that demands a large and long-range effort."(5)

The observation of Lenin concerning the Russian situation during the early years of soviet democracy is the same observation that can be made concerning our country's situation now.

Of course, as mentioned at the start of this article, there are more than a few areas within the mechanism that we must continue to improve; however, of most decisive significance is the need for each party organization to fully comply with the provisions of the law.

We must prove in real life the necessity for the democratic mechanism--here, the necessity for the people's council--as an indispensable development in the course of strengthening with each passing day the foundation of socialist democracy, a component of the new system.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist System of Law," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 287.
2. Ibid., p 86.
3. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Volume I, p 111.
4. Ibid., p 112.
5. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist System of Law,"...p 287.

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## SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 27-32

[Article by Tran Quynh]

[Text] On 3 November 1978, the two countries of Vietnam and the Soviet Union signed the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. Evaluating the significance of the treaty, Le Duan has said: "This treaty has created the conditions for the two countries to continuously develop their political relations and cooperation in every respect and make every effort to support each other in the cause of safeguarding peace and in creative labor." With the signing of this treaty, the relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union entered an entirely new and different stage, a stage of development in breadth as well as depth.

As we commemorate the 5th anniversary of the signing of the treaty, we are exceedingly happy over the great vitality that the treaty has displayed during the past 5 years. The economic, cultural and scientific-technical relations between the two countries have been strengthened and broadened in scale and scope as well as in quality and form. The political relations and the coordination between the two countries in the international arena have become closer than ever before for the sake of the interests of the two countries as well as the interests of the socialist community, for the sake of peace in this region and the world. The communist party, government and people of the Soviet Union have given the Vietnamese positive support and large, valuable and very effective assistance.

The treaty was signed during the period of time when our people, having just finished winning victory over the U.S. imperialists, found themselves facing a two-pronged war of aggression unleashed by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists. Betraying the long-standing friendship between the two nations of Vietnam and China, they severed all relations of cooperation and mutual assistance, withdrew their specialists and abandoned projects under construction. And, when they were defeated in their war of aggression, they and the U.S. imperialists initiated a policy of thorough economic embargo against our country; at the same time, they unleashed a wide-ranging war of sabotage against us in a vain attempt to "bleed" and cripple our country in order to force us to make political and diplomatic concessions in the hope of

creating an opportunity for another war of aggression against our country in a vain attempt to annex our country and realize their long-standing dream of expanding into Southeast Asia.

However, their plans have been defeated. During the past 5 years, we have recorded major achievements in economic development and the strengthening of the national defense system. We defeated the two-pronged war of aggression waged by China; helped the fraternal people of Kampuchea escape the genocide of Pol Pot and quickly bring their nation back to life; and effectively cooperated with the fraternal people of Laos in restoring and developing their economy toward socialism. These achievements have not been easy to record. The most decisive factors in these achievements have been the wise leadership of the party and the steadfast, creative efforts of our people; however, the extremely important significance of the generous assistance that the Soviet Union has continued to provide and is increasing in keeping with the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation cannot be overlooked.

At a time when our people face large difficulties, the most powerful and trusted ally of Vietnam, the Soviet Union, has determinedly stood beside the people of Vietnam, promptly and generously met our national defense needs and supplied our country with technical materials and the most essential goods for production and everyday life, thus allowing our economy to operate normally. Today, virtually 100 percent of the petroleum products, more than 70 percent of the fertilizer, more than 80 percent of the metal products and many types of raw materials, machinery and equipment imported by our country are supplied by the Soviet Union. As for ourselves, we have made major efforts to increase our exports to the Soviet Union; in this field, we have begun to produce a number of products in quantities of increasingly important significance. The foreign trade between our country and the Soviet Union doubled during the past 5 years compared to the previous 5 years.

The essential technical materials supplied to us by the Soviet Union have been one of the decisive factors helping us to make important progress in increasing production in order to meet our need for grain, which is the central and most pressing issue on our front of foremost importance in this initial stage of the period of transition, namely, agricultural development. On the other hand, of long-range, strategic importance is the fact that the Soviet Union has been, is and will continue to help us build hundreds of projects encompassing the majority of the sectors of the national economy, and include infrastructure projects as well as relatively large-scale projects with modern technical equipment. When they go into production, the projects that are under construction now will have a large impact upon every aspect of the economy and society of our country. They are the first important material-technical bases for socialist construction in our country. We must understand the important significance of this effort. The building of these bases of the national economy demands large investments of capital and requires a certain amount of time before projects have an impact. However, only by building the material-technical bases of socialism, the most important of which, as Lenin taught, is large-scale, mechanized industry, can we advance from a country with small-scale production and backward agriculture to a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture, a progressive

culture and science and eventually resolve the problem of continuously improving the standard of living of the people.

Together with grain, energy is one of the most difficult problems of our country's economy. Our country's present supply of energy is only enough to meet a portion of the needs of production and everyday life. Since 1978, with the assistance of the Soviet Union, the energy development program of Vietnam has been promoted in a comprehensive and urgent manner. A very large amount of construction work has been completed at the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, which has a rated capacity of 640,000 kilowatts. Recently, on 28 October 1983, generator section number 1, which has a capacity of 110,000 kilowatts, was successfully put into operation. In a number of years, upon the completion of the installation of its remaining generator sections, the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant will be supplying to the North much more energy than it is now receiving from all existing sources.

One year following the signing of the treaty, we began the construction of the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric power project, which has a capacity of nearly 2 million kilowatts and is the largest project in Southeast Asia. The Hoa Binh project will not only generate electricity, but will also provide flood control for the Red River Delta and develop transportation along the Red River and the Da River. The Soviet Union also agreed to help us construct the Tri An Hydroelectric Power Plant in the South, a project that is both an energy project and a project to supply water for agriculture, industry and daily life in eastern Nam Bo. The economic-technical documentation of this project has been approved; we are now making urgent preparations so that construction can begin in mid-1984. The generating capacity of this project will be larger than the total generating capacity of all existing power projects in the South.

At the same time, 110 kilovolt and 220 kilovolt power lines and transformer stations have been and are being urgently constructed. The Soviet Ministry of Power has been and is continuing to help us formulate the general power development program of Vietnam.

At present, coal is our main form of energy.

In order to increase the supply of coal to the national economy, the Soviet Union has continued to help us build new coal mines and enlarge old mines, which have a total capacity of 5 million tons per year. Among these mines is the Mong Duong Coal Mine, which has a first phase capacity of 145,000 tons per year and is now being put into operation.

From the perspective of energy alone, it is difficult to calculate the full importance of the assistance that we have received from the Soviet Union in the exploration and development of petroleum and natural gas on the continental shelf in the South. In June, 1981, the Vietnam-Soviet Petroleum and Natural Gas Joint Enterprise was born. Through the efforts of the concerned sectors of the two countries, the on shore service area in Vinh Tao was completed. Positive steps are being taken to prepare the first well, which will be drilled by ship, so that drilling can begin at an early date. Permanent drilling rig number 1 is also being urgently assembled so that

drilling can be quickly started. The Vietnam-Soviet Petroleum and Natural Gas Joint Enterprise is a fresh and beautiful flower of Vietnam-Soviet cooperation.

Communications and transportation play a very decisive role and are a very weak element in the development of our country's economy.

On this front, we have also received tremendous assistance from the Soviet Union. By means of non-repayable aid, the Soviet Union has been helping us to continue the construction of communication and transportation projects for which China cancelled its aid and suspended construction. Among these projects, the Thang Long Bridge is a major project that was redesigned by Soviet specialists to be more efficient and modern. All 15 spans of this two-tier bridge have now been assembled and, very shortly, when the bridge is completed for motor vehicle and railroad traffic in 1985, motor vehicles weighing less than 13 tons will be able to use the bridge, thus significantly improving transportation to and from the capital Hanoi across the Red River. The Soviet Union has also been helping us to remodel, enlarge and equip seaports, restore the Thong Nhat railroad and build the Hanoi communications center while supplying us with various types of large and small transportation equipment.

Machinery is a key economic sector to a socialist country. The Soviet Union has helped us to build the Cong River Diesel Motor Works, which has a rated capacity of 100,000 horsepower per year (the entire production line will go into operation next year); the Cam Pha Machine Works, which performs general repairs and major repairs on motor vehicles used in mining, will begin the construction of a motor vehicle parts factory with a capacity of 6,000 tons per year.

We can also mention many other large projects that have been entirely or partially constructed or concerning which agreements have been signed to begin construction in the immediate future or at some point in the more distant future, such as: the Hoa Sen Satellite Communication Ground Station; the Bim Son Cement Plant, which has a rated capacity of 1,200,000 tons per year (cement furnace number 1 has been put into operation and, in 1984, both furnaces of the plant will be in operation); the housing concrete structural parts factory in Xuan Mai, which has a capacity of 100,000 square meters of housing per year; the Quy Hop Tin factory, which will have a capacity of 500 to 1,000 tons per year (the economic-technical documentation for this project has been completed); the restoration and enlargement of the Lao Cai Apatite Mine and the construction of an ore enrichment plant with a capacity of 1,800,000 tons per year; the enlargement of the Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant from 100,000 to 300,000 tons per year; the Dap Cau Glass Factory, which has a capacity of 40,000 tons per year; a factory producing forge presses; a factory producing cast and forged products; a factory producing industrial valves; a factory manufacturing agricultural tractors; the redevelopment of the Lao Cai-Haiphong railroad into rail line 1435; a nitrogen fertilizer plant; a soda plant; a cellulose plant; a viscose plant; an iron and steel mill; refineries and petrochemical plants; the Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh City microwave communication line, etc. Mention must also be made of a host of

projects in agriculture, the food industry and the information and post-telegraph sector and projects involving culture and the standard of living.

The past 5 years have also been a period during which the scientific-technical cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union has been broadened. We have now gone beyond the period of cooperation in small-scale projects; the two countries have reached agreement concerning long-term scientific projects and subjects in which they will coordinate in research over a period of many years (27 areas of interest and 73 subjects). Many subjects involve basic investigations of scientific and practical significance, such as an investigation to identify all the plantlife of Vietnam, an investigation into the ecology and plant and animal life of the Central Highland forests, basic geological research, research into the laws of mineral formation in Vietnam, investigation of ocean resources, etc. With the technical assistance of the Soviet Union, we are restoring and enlarging the nuclear center in Da Lat for use in scientific research. One of the highlights of scientific-technical cooperation was the space flight by Pham Thuan and Gorobatko. During the past 5 years, more than 5,000 Vietnamese specialists have been studying and researching scientific-technical achievements and production experiences in the Soviet Union. And nearly 2,000 Soviet scientists and specialists have been sent to work in Vietnam.

During the past 5 years, the economic relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union have become broader and more diverse. The two countries coordinated their 1981-1985 economic plans; besides bilateral relations, the two countries have begun to participate in multi-lateral cooperation within CEMA. New forms of cooperation have emerged, such as cooperation based on full repayment (rubber cultivation) and cooperation through joint enterprises (petroleum and natural gas).

The tremendous assistance provided to our country by the Soviet Union over the past 5 years has been of extremely important significance. This assistance has truly been invaluable. It reflects the noble spirit of internationalism of the glorious CPSU, the party of the great Lenin that is always brandishing the banners of peace and revolution in the world, and of the great Soviet people, who have always had a deep feeling of affection for our people and always consider supporting and assisting Vietnam to be a matter of reason and a mandate of the heart. As for ourselves, we have made major efforts to accept and effectively utilize the assistance of the Soviet Union and fulfill the commitments agreed upon, especially with regard to the construction of many key projects and increasing our exports to the Soviet Union.

Ours is a country that is advancing directly from small-scale production to socialism, a country that recently emerged from a war, the consequences of which were very serious; at the same time, we must continue to fight against the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and fulfill our international obligation. Therefore, we face very many economic difficulties. Serious imbalances exist within our economy. Our country's present national income is not enough to meet the needs of production and consumption, not enough to provide for the accumulation of capital. All needs for primary fuels, raw materials, supplies, equipment and parts and an important percentage of essential consumer goods must be met

through imports from foreign countries. Many pressing problems are being faced in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. The struggle between socialism and capitalism is a sharp struggle.

We understand that no international assistance can take the place of our own efforts if we are to carry out industrialization in order to advance to socialism, if we are to resolve the economic and social problems of a country that will someday have a population of 60 million. However, we also realize that these jobs cannot be performed without international cooperation and assistance. The Soviet Union is the country best capable of assisting and cooperating with us in the noble spirit of internationalism.

Therefore, as the resolution of our party's 5th Congress stated, "Uniting and Cooperating in a comprehensive manner with the Soviet Union are always the cornerstone of the foreign policy of our party and state." We will continue to strongly develop the militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union for the sake of the interests of the people's of the two countries. This will guarantee victory for our people in their work of maintaining the defense of the fatherland and building socialism as well as in their effort to strengthen our national independence and strengthen the position of socialism on the Indochina peninsula; at the same time, it will make a positive contribution to solidifying and strengthening the socialist system, to intensifying the struggle for peace and socialism in the world.

Our close ties and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union are a matter of principle, a matter of strategy and, at the same time, a matter of revolutionary sentiment. We have the task of educating our people so that they have a firm grasp of this principle, have a thorough understanding of this strategy and turn it into a powerful force moving our revolution forward.

We must also unite and develop our cooperation with the other fraternal socialist countries.

The prospects for economic cooperation between our country and the member countries of CEMA are very good. It is our task to make good use of the assistance provided by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries in order to increase the efficiency of our country's economy while effectively participating in the socialist international division of labor, primarily as it pertains to products that our country is able to produce as a country in the tropical zone. We have given priority to cooperation designed to develop our export potentials. This is the basic guideline for eventual cooperation based on a balance of trade. Of greater importance is the need for us to eliminate the thinking of relying upon others, display self-reliance and make good use of our two largest assets, our labor and our arable land. We must fully execute the contracts that have been signed. In particular, we must improve the quality of export goods.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is of very important political significance at a time when U.S. imperialism is displaying an extremely bellicose attitude and insanely opposing socialism, at a time when the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists are looking for every way to

divide the socialist countries, especially divide the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

They are very angered by the very fine development of Viet-Soviet relations because they pose the greatest obstacle to their dream of annexing our country and expanding into Southeast Asia. The relations between the two countries of Vietnam and the Soviet Union are relations based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian international, are relations between two Marxist-Leninist parties, are relations between two countries that share the same ideals. These relations are not designed to threaten anyone, but only to serve the cause of peace and revolution of the people of the entire world. Only the enemy's of peace, of social progress oppose these relations.

There is nothing that can shake the solidarity and friendship of our people with the great Soviet Union. Ever since the October Socialist Revolution, our people's patriotism and their will to struggle for independence, freedom and socialism have always been closely associated with warm feelings of affection for the Soviet Union and deep trust of the Soviet Union. In keeping with our country's fine tradition of gratitude and its fine tradition of loyalty to friends, traditions that have been forged in hundreds of years of building and defending the country, we are determined to maintain the friendship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and keep it forever bright and fresh.

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## BUILDING A SOLID AND STRONG WORKING CLASS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 33-39

[Article by Pham The Duyet]

[Text] Following the total victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, our country's revolution entered a new stage: the stage of socialist construction throughout the country.

Socialism is the ardent aspiration, is the highest basic interest of our working class and people. To build socialism, we must carry out socialist industrialization and build the material-technical bases of socialism because, as Lenin pointed out: "The only way to build socialism is by means of large-scale industry."(1) The working class plays a decisive role in this central and key task because it is both a product of large-scale industry and the creator of socialist large-scale industry.

Since the August Revolution, our country's industry has continuously developed. Along with the development of industry, our working class has grown and become stronger in many areas and made major contributions to the development of the entire national economy and the life of society. The corps of manual workers and civil servants now numbers more than 3 million persons, 1.7 million of whom are technical workers. Of the 1.7 million technical workers, 12 percent are grade 4 or higher skilled workers and more than 50 percent are young workers who have received formal classroom training. Although it only constitutes about 6 percent of the population and 15 percent of the laborers within society, our working class produces more than 50 percent of the gross social product and nearly 40 percent of gross national income.

Our country is now in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. In the advance from primarily small-scale production directly to socialism, our country's economy, which must bear the heavy burdens of several decades of continuous war and the impact of the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, is experiencing serious imbalances and encountering large, acute difficulties in many areas. Industrial production is unstable, there are shortages of raw materials, energy and supplies and enterprises are only operating at about 50 percent of capacity. Labor productivity has declined. The consumption of materials is

high as are production costs. Not much has been done to reorganize industrial production and capital construction and that which has been achieved is lacking in coordination. Many workers do not have enough work and workers as a whole are encountering numerous difficulties in their daily lives. This constitutes a very large challenge to our corps of manual workers and civil servants.

In the face of this situation, the majority of our manual workers and civil servants have firmly maintained the fine revolutionary character of the working class, maintained their confidence in the leadership of the party, patiently endured hardships and shortages and stood firm in the face of every challenge. Every hour of every day, in each region of our country, in every field of work, our manual workers and civil servants, by means of their specific actions in production, in how they organize their daily lives, in the struggle against negative phenomena, have been and are clearly proving that our corps of manual workers and civil servants is always worthy of being the most progressive force within our society, worthy of being the firm foundation of the party and state, the force that determines the development of production, determines the victory of socialist construction in our country.

As a result, in 1982, nearly 90 percent of all production and business installations completed the plan assigned to them. Large construction projects of important significance, such as the Bim Son Cement Plant, the Hoang Thach Cement Plant, the Cao Son Coal Mine, the Pha Lai Power Plant, the Thang Long Bridge and so forth have either been put into production and use or are about to be. More new factors are emerging with each passing day at, for example, the Thai Nguyen Iron and Steel Federated Enterprise; the Thang Cong Textile Enterprise and the 2 September Pharmaceutical Enterprise in Ho Chi Minh City; the Thong Nhat Electric Motor Works, the Van Dien Phosphate Fertilizer Plant and the Medical Implements Plant in Hanoi; the Haiphong Machine Works; the Haiphong railroad car section; the Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant in Vinh Phu, etc. These new factors have set examples of how to correctly and creatively apply the positions and policies of the party and state, examples of the socialist attitude toward work and examples of assuming responsibility at production installations, thereby opening doors in new directions, opening new prospects for the years ahead.

With a clear understanding of the important significance of developing agricultural production and the importance of industry supporting agriculture, large numbers of manual workers and civil servants have enthusiastically participated in the various emulation movements supporting agriculture, such as the movement to emulate the Gay Bridge farmland water conservancy network, the movement to emulate skilled tractor operators, the movement to emulate in supporting agriculture within the district, the movement to build high yield worker-farmer fields, etc. Many research projects conducted by scientific and technical cadres in crop varieties, breeds of livestock, crop protection, the protection of livestock and so forth have made important contributions to intensive cultivation, multicropping, increases in crop yields and the development of livestock production. By means of these diverse activities, manual workers and civil servants have made positive contributions along with the class of collective farmers to the large victories that have been won in agricultural production over the past several years and have further

strengthened the alliance of workers and farmers in the new stage of the revolution.

However, there are still some weaknesses within the working class. Some manual workers and civil servants have not been properly educated concerning the vanguard role of their class, concerning the responsibility that they have to exercise socialist collective ownership and lack the consciousness of struggling on their own, of forging themselves; therefore, they have not stood firm in the face of the common difficulties of the country and have done things that are contrary to the conscience of a worker, are foreign to the fine qualities of the working class. Some persons are lazy, lack a spirit of responsibility and have seriously violated production regulations and labor discipline. More than a few persons who control money, goods or supplies have misappropriated them, engaged in collusion and even conspired with bourgeoisie and dishonest merchants who seriously harm the interests of the state, of the collective.

Superstitious beliefs, gambling, drunkenness, the disruption of social order and violations of state law still occur among manual workers and civil servants. A number of persons have left the corps of workers, have quit their jobs at enterprises and agencies in order to work on the outside, even engage in dishonest trade or illegal production and businesses; some of these persons are cadres of position and authority.

Generally speaking, the class awareness and the socialist awareness of manual workers and civil servants as well as their skill levels are not high. More than 70 percent of our manual workers come from backgrounds as farmers or other laborers. Over 60 percent are young workers who are new to their trade. Because they have come from the countryside or schools directly to industrial production, from small-scale production to large-scale production, from positions as small, private owners to a position of being collective masters and because they have not had much time to mature, they cannot avoid bringing with themselves the thoughts, attitudes and habits of the class from which they came. In the face of the difficulties being encountered in production and everyday life, some persons have shown signs of wavering and easily find themselves engaged in negative acts.

One factor that has had a considerable influence upon the quality of the corps of manual workers and civil servants is the shortcomings in the organization and management of production. At many enterprises and factories, production plans are not formulated from the lower level upward or are production plans in name only. Plans are usually assigned late and usually need to be adjusted; there is usually a lack of balance between the norms of the plan and the supply of energy, materials and technology, consequently, the disciplined, legal nature of plans is easily disrupted and difficulties are encountered in enterprise management. In addition, the working conditions of workers are unstable and workers sometimes do not have work to perform; economic-technical quotas are less than thorough and inaccurate; as a result, production management is lax and this has given rise to liberalism, to the habit of doing as one sees fit, to a lack of organization and discipline.

In recent years, manual workers and civil servants have encountered very many difficulties and shortages in their daily lives, sometimes very acute difficulties and shortages. At many places, the living and working conditions of manual workers are not being maintained and the fact that inequities in the wage system, in the supplying of consumer goods and so forth have persisted and been corrected slowly has made it necessary for them to spend more than a small amount of their energy and time providing for their daily needs. The impact of the free market, of the non-socialist segments of the economy, of the negative phenomena in society and so forth have also affected their thinking, feelings and attitudes. Meanwhile, there are many shortcomings and weaknesses in the teaching of politics and ideology to manual workers and civil servants. At many places, appropriate importance has not been attached to this effort and, at some places, political and ideological education is virtually ignored. Throughout the country, the education of manual workers and civil servants has been slow to change in content and form, has not kept pace with the requirements of the new situation and tasks and has not been well suited to each specific objective. Strong efforts have not been made to encourage and promote new factors or advanced models or to teach and mobilize the masses to struggle against negative phenomena and enemy sabotage. The trade union, the organization that bears the main responsibility in the education and forging of the corps of manual workers and civil servants, is not performing its task well. The activities of the trade union organizations on the various levels are still lacking in practicality and detail, still very administrative and bureaucratic in nature; they are not closely related to production, to workers, do not have a strong impact upon the struggle against negative phenomena and do not appropriately stimulate the molding of the new, socialist worker.

Building a solid and strong working class is both a pressing demand of the immediate situation and a very important demand of subsequent stages of development in the future of our country's revolution. Whether or not socio-economic, scientific and technical goals are met, whether or not the movement to emulate in labor and production is accelerated, whether or not economic management and the management of enterprises are improved and so forth depend upon the quality of the working class.

At this point in time, the building of the working class is under the direct influence of the effort to reorganize production and reorganize labor in order to provide workers with an ample and stable supply of work and provide the conditions needed for them to use their energies and talents well. As we know, productive labor is an obligation, is the basic right of the worker, is the main factor in accelerating production and the development of the economy, is a very necessary means of teaching and forging the worker. Karl Marx considered education through productive labor to be the best method for training the complete man.

At present, we are unable to quickly overcome the difficulties with energy, raw materials and supplies in order to make full use of the production capacity of industrial installations and provide workers with ample work. However, facts have shown that these difficulties are very greatly reduced wherever there is a determination to develop every potential and reorganize production. More than a few enterprises and factories that once lacked work

have now created work for their workers and markedly raised the income of each person by reorienting their production and introducing new products that meet the requirements of the state plan and the needs of the people.

The reorganization of production and labor demands that we promptly balance the labor force between places where there is a surplus of labor and places where there is a shortage, thus insuring the uniform development of the different fields of production and the various territorial areas. At the same time, a policy must be adopted to reduce the size of administrative staffs by quickly transferring a portion of the indirect work force to direct production. In the work of rebuilding the country, we need a large labor force very much, and we can provide work to everyone if we make scientific calculations and bring an attitude of determination to the effort to reorganize production and reorganize labor.

Establishing a good mode of management, a good management system is also an essential demand in the building of the working class. As we know, the strength of the working class, in general, and the growth of each manual worker and civil servant, in particular, are dependent to a considerable degree upon the mode of management. A good mode of management, one that is based on correct and reasonable policies and regulations, one that stimulates productive labor and establishes fine relations within each collective of workers encourages manual workers and civil servants to conduct well-coordinated activities, promotes enthusiasm, discipline and socialist cooperation among them and encourages them to gradually adopt modern, conventional working procedures, develop upon their good qualities and strengths and limit negative phenomena to the lowest possible level.

Political and ideological education and training have a decisive impact in building the working class. Workers who possess socialist awareness also possess all the skills and creativity needed to overcome every difficulty and meet every challenge. Of importance is the need to improve both the subject matter and methods of education so that the education and training of the corps of workers are consistent with real life and have a practical effect. In the immediate future, a stronger effort must be made to teach Marxism-Leninism, teach workers about the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country at this time, about the lines and policies of the party and laws of the state, about the spirit of socialist collective ownership, about revolutionary tradition, about socialist ethics and the socialist style of life, about respecting labor discipline, respecting and protecting socialist property, respecting the law, maintaining social order, etc.

In order to improve the production capabilities of workers and their ability to be the collective masters of production, it is necessary to provide them with cultural knowledge, with knowledge of science and technology and knowledge of economic management and enterprise management.

Thus, in view of all that it entails, the education of workers cannot be carried out by teaching general theory or by means of simple, inflexible forms of organization and measures; rather, it must take the form of patient, thorough, daily education provided through each job they perform, through each emulation movement and revolutionary campaign, through a continuous effort to

improve the exercise of collective ownership within the enterprise and agency, through practical activities of the trade union organization and other cultural and social activities.

In conjunction with this educational work, we must fully concern ourselves with the living conditions of manual workers and civil servants. In the immediate future, effective measures must be taken to reduce the difficulties being encountered in their daily lives and gradually stabilize and improve the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants. This is a very urgent issue, is a common concern of the party, the state and the trade union. Without resolving this problem well, we cannot accelerate production, cannot thoroughly overcome negative phenomena, cannot build a solid and strong corps of workers. Lenin once pointed out: "In a ravaged country, the first task is to save the worker. The most important production force of mankind is the worker, the laborer. If they survive, we will be able to salvage and restore everything... If we save the main production force of mankind, the worker, we will again be able to achieve everything; however, we will perish if we do not save the worker."(2)

To accomplish this, many well coordinated and positive measures must be taken. To begin with, it is necessary to provide adequate work, quickly improve the wage system, promote the use of piecework wages, implement contract wages and make correct use of the bonus and welfare funds at installations. At the same time, we must provide a full supply of rationed goods, broaden the variety of non-rationed goods, stabilize prices, guide and organize the subsidiary household economy of manual workers and civil servants well, provide jobs for their children of work age and provide well organized services for manual workers, civil servants and their families.

Of course, the decisive factor in stabilizing and steadily improving the living conditions of manual workers and civil servants is accelerating production. At present, however, along with accelerating production, we must attach special importance to distribution and circulation. Only by resolving this problem well can the state control goods, control money, insure that production and distribution comply with the plan, control the market and prices and so forth, that is provide the premises and conditions needed to improve the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants.

Building the working class not only involves concerning ourselves with the present corps of workers, it also involves concerning ourselves with the future development of this corps. Each year, new persons join the corps of manual workers and civil servants, the number of which depends upon the scale and rate of development of the country's economy. The development of this corps must be development in both size and quality. To accomplish this, the state agencies must formulate good socio-economic development plans, formulate economic policies, production policies, labor policies and so forth with a view toward establishing a proper balance between the economy and society, between investments in the construction of material-technical bases and investments in the material and spiritual lives of workers.

Such development of the corps of manual workers and civil servants demands that we concern ourselves with the elementary and advanced training of these

persons while they are still in general schools, colleges, vocational middle schools, formal trade training schools and the training schools and classes at enterprises. These schools must provide a good education in every area from occupational counselling to teaching politics and ideology, which involves such things as heightening the awareness of the role played by the working class, of the tradition of the working class and creating the conditions for students to gradually familiarize themselves with industrial production and the life of a worker.

At present, the process of building the working class is very closely linked to the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. On the one hand, we must attach full importance to providing the education needed to give the corps of manual workers and civil servants a clear understanding of this struggle and a clearcut attitude regarding it; on the other hand, special attention must be given to transforming and educating small-scale producers by means of long range, careful organizational work. These persons, as Lenin observed, "surround the proletariat in every direction with a petty bourgeois atmosphere, an atmosphere that pervades and corrupts the proletariat and is constantly causing the proletariat to display the innate poor qualities of the bourgeoisie, such as weakness of character, disorganization and individualism, while causing the proletariat to fall from optimism into pessimism."(3)

Because it is a matter of major strategic importance in implementing the revolutionary line and the positions and policies of the party and state, in building and protecting the party, in building and protecting the dictatorship of the proletariat state, the building of the working class is the work of our entire party and state.

The various levels of the party organization must concern themselves with leading, educating and forging the corps of workers, keep abreast of the thinking and the living conditions of the various strata of manual workers and civil servants, attach importance to utilizing the role and function of the trade union and closely lead the revolutionary movements of workers.

The state agencies must establish a comprehensive mechanism consisting of laws, plans and measures designed to guarantee and uphold the right of collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants; at the same time, they must quickly improve their management, beginning with enterprise management. State agencies must rid themselves of every manifestation of bureaucracy, quickly and thoroughly meet the legitimate requirements of workers and closely coordinate with the trade union in encouraging workers to implement the lines and policies of the party and the plans and laws of the state.

As the largest mass organization of the working class, as the school of economic management and state management, the school of socialism and communism, as the link between the party and workers, the trade union must consider its foremost task to be teaching and forging the corps of workers in every respect.

The trade union educates workers primarily by organizing and launching revolutionary movements among manual workers and civil servants, gaining their

participation in the management of enterprises, agencies and so forth and guiding them in organizing their lives and participating in cultural and social activities. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out: "Trade union activities must focus on meeting economic, scientific and technical goals, organizing and promoting the movement to emulate in labor and production and practice economy among manual workers and civil servants, raising the political, cultural, scientific and technical qualifications of workers and making positive contributions to the training of the corps of skilled workers and the training of skilled management cadres.

The trade union must competently participate in the work of the state, effectively contribute to the improvement of economic management, especially the improvement of enterprise management, and closely cooperate with state agencies to resolve specific problems regarding production conditions, labor safety, the replenishment of energies expended in labor and the stabilization and maintenance of the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants. The trade union must serve as the nucleus of the socialist emulation movement and set bright examples of the new attitude toward work, of discipline, of the spirit of initiative and creativity, of frugality and the protection of public property; at the same time, it must criticize and correct the unwholesome phenomena in the work and daily lives of some manual workers and civil servants..."(4)

The above mentioned requirements of the party will be the main subjects of discussion at the 5th National Trade Union Congress. On the basis of a thorough understanding of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolutions and directives of the Party Central Committee, the 5th National Trade Union Congress will endeavor to set forth specific tasks and measures that are consistent with the movement of manual workers and civil servants and with trade union activities, tasks and measures which insure that our working class displays its revolutionary nature, exercises its great strength, overcomes every weakness and moves forward to make truly worthy contributions to socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 126.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 38, p 430.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, pp 33-34.
4. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 1, pp 126-127.

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## CONSTANTLY IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 40-45

[Article by Dang Hoi Xuan]

[Text] As a result of establishing a widespread public health network throughout the country, the effort to safeguard the health of our people has constantly improved, thereby making worthy contributions to maintaining the defense of the fatherland and to socialist construction. In recent years, public health activities have effectively supported the development of production, the stabilization of the standard of living and the strengthening of our national defense forces. However, besides these achievements, one basic problem has arisen with which we must be especially concerned. It is the problem of the quality of public health activities. During the past several years, as a result of the economic difficulties of the entire country and shortcomings on the part of the sector, the quality of public health activities has declined somewhat. It is necessary to boldly take a hard look at our specific shortcomings in order to more clearly see the pressing nature of the problem being faced. On the village level, cadres are frequently away from their station and although the salary system has been improved, village public health cadres at many places must still buy paddy at commercial prices, as a result of which their living conditions are not truly stable. The patriotic hygiene movement and the movement to maintain clean villages and fields in the countryside and clean, attractive streets in the cities have virtually ceased to exist.

In some hospitals, there have been cases of in-patients having to cook their own food, buy their medicine on the free market and have a relative accompany them to the hospital in order to care for them. Order and sanitation are poor and buildings have not been given a fresh coat of whitewash or paint for many years; beds and metal cabinets have been in use for many years and are rusting and a rather large number are in need of repair; sanitation projects have not been improved and are dirty, the relatives of patients do not comply with the internal regulations of hospitals regarding order and sanitation and there is a complete lack of order in hospital management. Some cadres have a poor spirit of serving their patients, are arrogant and authoritarian, pose a bother to patients and have even become so degenerate and deviant as to steal drugs, demand bribes, etc.

Every province wants to open public health middle schools or public health academy classes but lacks investment capital, consequently, schools do not become schools, classes do not become classes. There is a shortage of instructors, so much of a shortage that it is necessary to invite a teacher from one school today and another school tomorrow; students study theory in a rush, lack models, study aids and even drawings and lack the facility and means needed for practical application; and the corps of teachers has not been strengthened. Some school graduates do not accept the jobs assigned by the organization and even leave their work for private practice.

The number of cadres graduating from schools each year is rather large but the number receiving advanced training to improve their specialized and professional qualifications is very small. Some cadres graduated as much as 10 to 15 years ago but still have not received supplementary training once. Investigations conducted to evaluate the qualifications of village physicians have shown that many cadres have completely forgotten the fundamentals of surgery, physiology and so forth. Their use of medicine is still based on formulas that are decades old, is marked by inefficiency and waste and is not safe to patients.

Because the quality of public health care has declined, health problems and diseases that were once eliminated have now re-emerged, such as meningitis, tuberculosis in children, eclampsia, metritis in women who have just given birth, twisted umbilical cords in newborns, polio, etc.

Some drugs and serums that have been produced have not been fully tested and do not meet the qualitative standards set forth in the pharmacopia. In some state-operated drug stores and hospitals, drugs are being bought, sold and traded illegally or sold at arbitrary high prices.

In the face of this situation, improving the quality of public health activities is the foremost task of every public health cadre and facility. We must immediately take determined and effective measures to stop this decline and then endeavor to raise the quality of public health activities.

How can we improve the quality of public health activities in the difficult situation that exists now? When talking about the quality of work, we usually only think about providing additional labor, spending more money, adding more equipment or making larger investments in capital construction and rarely give thought to subjective efforts and suitable methods of management and operating measures. The investments made by the state in the form of public health labor, funds and equipment in recent years has been very large. Under extremely difficult circumstances, our party and state have still been very concerned with safeguarding the health of the people. In many localities, the party committee echelons and government have allocated capital for investment on a priority basis in the construction of public health facilities and schools before building the offices of the committee and other sectors. Our state has also made a very large effort to provide the public health sector with some of the materials received in the form of aid from the fraternal socialist countries as well as the various international organizations.

A look at our present corps of public health cadres shows the tremendous

investments that have been made by the state in the training of labor within the public health field. In 1954, when peace was restored in one-half of our country, each province and municipality in the North had only three to five physicians; now, there are hundreds of college educated cadres serving as doctors, pharmacists and engineers. Each district had an average of three to five doctors and one college educated pharmacist; now, practically all villages have a physician and some have a doctor. At present, there are thousands of medical and pharmaceutical cadres throughout the country who have a post-graduated education and many skilled level I and level II professors of medicine and pharmacy who meet international standards. A considerable amount of implements and machinery has been provided to public health facilities. One-third of the district hospitals have a full supply of operating room equipment, testing equipment and x-ray machines. By the end of 1985, all village public health stations, district disease prevention hygiene and malaria control units and provincial disease prevention hygiene stations will be well equipped. Once they have been completely constructed and staffed with an adequate number of specialized cadres, the area general examination clinics will also be fully equipped with necessary implements and machines.

Although more funds have been allocated for each activity, because the supply of goods and materials for patients has not met ration standards and because many products have had to be purchased at commercial prices, a situation has developed in many localities in which public health facilities do not have enough money to buy drugs, soap, lantern oil and other products with which to serve patients.

Clearly, the public health sector has very large potentials lying in its labor and technical materials. If, through the guidance they provide, the various levels of the party and government develop these potentials, we can maintain and gradually raise the quality of public health activities.

Above everything else, we must have a full understanding of the guidelines set forth by the party for the public health sector in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism: "The state and the people working together"; "the central level and the locality working together"; "using pharmacology to support medical science"; and "doctors where needed, medicine where needed." When implementing these guidelines, we must attach full importance to management, that is, must know how to determine which problems are of greatest priority, which problems are the key problems and must bring our forces together in order to resolve these problems by a specific deadline and in accordance with a scientifically developed program. Of importance is the need to calculate the minimum amount of labor, supplies, money and so forth needed to do the most for the health of the people and the need to resolve immediate problems while giving thought to investing in long-range efforts that will not have an impact for some time to come. We must conduct research into investments in depth. Public health activities must have the purpose of helping to achieve socio-economic development goals. Toward this end, some public health activities must be put under cost accounting in order to reduce expenditures while still increasing the effectiveness of the service they provide. This would be consistent with the improvements being made by our party now in distribution and circulation in order to gradually abolish the administrative subsidization within the professional sectors.

By gaining a full understanding of and properly resolving the present problems of the public health sector to which priority must be given, we will improve the quality of health care for the people.

The establishment of the "five thorough jobs" movement was based on the summarized experiences gained by advanced units over a period of many years. It is also a way by which our country's public health sector can improve its situation in the present stage; therefore, efforts must be concentrated on carrying out the "five thorough jobs" movement well, a movement which involves the construction of the three different kinds of sanitation projects, health management, planned parenthood, the cultivation and use of medicinal herbs and the building of the public health organization on the basic level.

The restoration of the patriotic hygiene movement among the people demands that we do a good job of providing knowledge about general hygiene through propaganda and education so that everyone can care for and protect his own health as well as that of his family. In this work, we must make full use of the mass media, of the press and radio, on the central as well as the local levels. SUC KHOE Newspaper, the newspaper that popularizes general knowledge concerning public health, must be distributed to the village public health stations to serve as a means for educating the people in public health. The various types of vaccines must be administered when required and in the correct manner. We must make an effort to resolve the problem of supplying clean water to the people in the countryside; the water works in the cities must be disinfected to insure that the standards regarding microorganisms are met. Facts have shown that areas in which outbreaks of cholera, dysentery and typhoid occur are usually areas that lack clean water. We can only eliminate infectious diseases of the digestive tract by solving the water problem well.

At present, there is a tendency on the part of some localities to wait for assistance in the form of machinery, materials and chemicals to resolve the problems involved in disease prevention and control hygiene. Of course, these items are necessary but we cannot simply sit and wait; rather, we must make immediate use of such folk practices as using flyswatters, using rat traps, raising fish and raising cats to exterminate disease carriers, use local materials to build sanitation projects and encourage the people to dig wells and build tanks and use earthenware jars to store water.

Emergency medical care, medical examinations and medical treatment occupy a very important position in public health activities. The volume of work performed in these areas each year is quite large: about 150 million medical examinations are administered, 1.5 million persons receive outpatient care and 7.5 million persons receive inpatient care. The public health sector devotes a rather high percentage of its labor, equipment and funds (about 60 percent of the sector's budget) to this work. Through inspections conducted at many hospitals, we have found that funding poses the overriding difficulty. The majority of the hospitals maintain that the present ceiling on expenditures per bed is too low and has, therefore, affected the quality of health care. In actuality, some hospitals have been serving patients well under this ceiling on expenditures per bed while at other hospitals that have received higher funding, the quality of care has still declined. Thus, funding

difficulties are not the main cause of the decline in the quality of health care.

The basic problem here lies with how concerned the various party committee echelons are with this matter: has the party committee concerned itself with the assignment of hospital leadership cadres, has it strengthened the party organization within the hospital, has it organized ideological and political training for physicians and public health personnel and has it taken steps to meet the basic needs of hospitals for goods and supplies? Is the leadership of the hospital fully capable of managing the hospital? Do the party members within the hospital set good examples? At a number of hospitals that were once poorly operated and were the subjects of very many complaints by the people, facts have shown that hospital operations improved markedly after the party committee replaced hospital leadership cadres, strengthened the party organization and strengthened hospital management in a manner closely linked to developing the political qualities of public health cadres, encouraging the villages within the locality to sell food products and a number of other essentials to the hospital at stable prices and so forth.

One lesson that has been learned is that in order to improve the quality of medical examinations and treatment, we must take the steps described above in a well coordinated manner and be sure that no hospital is ever in a situation in which it has no food, has no medicine or has no personnel to care for patients, that patients are not turned away and hospital personnel are not arrogant, overbearing or irresponsible. At the same time, we must focus our efforts on carrying out the following four tasks:

--We must teach the spirit and attitude of wholeheartedly serving patients, struggle against the negative phenomena in all areas of hospital operation and insure that each public health cadre is imbued with the teaching of Uncle Ho that "a physician be as good and kind as a mother." The first requirement of patients is always that physicians and public health personnel display the proper attitude and possess a high sense of responsibility.

--We must maintain order, sanitation and quiet within each ward and room and throughout the entire hospital and insure that hospitals are always clean and attractive. This does not require a large supply of materials, only persons in charge who are fully concerned. Restoring the practice of cleaning hospitals each week and having hospital leadership cadres participate in this work along with hospital personnel will insure that hospitals are never dirty. Hospitals must adopt plans for improving their sanitation projects, applying whitewash to their buildings, painting doors and furniture, repairing rundown, leaking buildings, reconditioning and repairing machinery and providing water and lighting for medical treatment facilities. Any hospital that lacks assistance can hire or contract labor on the outside to perform the various cleaning jobs within the hospital.

Hospitals at which there is regularly a large number of relatives of patients must organize separate eating and sleeping facilities for them and inform them of the regulations on maintaining sanitation and order. An effort must be made to provide patients with the necessary food and medicine and provide the personnel needed to give patients thorough care. Persons entering and leaving

hospitals must be closely managed and the rules on inquiries concerning the condition of patients must be strictly enforced in order to maintain both the security of the hospital and the health of its patients.

--Medicine must be administered to patients in a reasonable and safe manner. The widespread and unreasonable use of drugs is one of the causes of the artificial shortage of medicine and long range consequences to the health of patients. To physicians, the first requirement is to establish diagnosis before beginning treatment. If there is a need to use expensive, scarce drugs, they must be administered, regardless of the total quantity involved; however, if an accurate diagnosis has not been established, a physician absolutely may not employ the "shotgun" approach to treatment and administer medicine simply to placate patients. We must fully implement the standards that have been set forth in the movement concerning the reasonable and safe use of drugs and absolutely not use drugs in any form of barter.

--We must insure that there is always an adequate supply of all types of general purpose materials and medicine for patients and take determined steps to end the practice of giving the relatives of patients prescriptions to buy drugs, plaster, surgical thread or x-ray film on the free market. The state has allocated a rather large percentage of drugs for supply on a priority basis to medical treatment facilities and set ceilings on medicine expenditures per bed; therefore, it is the responsibility of the local party committee echelon and government if a hospital does not have enough money to buy medicine for its patients.

Other rather important measures in improving the quality of public health activities are to do a very good job of conducting scheduled and unscheduled inspections and providing elementary training as well as specialized, professional supplementary training to cadres. All localities must make appropriate investments in the construction of public health cadre training schools, purchase the equipment needed for instruction and learning, organize good dining and living facilities for students and coordinate student recruiting and distribution. Beginning in this school year, the border provinces, the Central Highland provinces and the provinces in the Mekong Delta will recruit students by district and provide advanced specialized and professional training in order to train doctor's assistants as doctors for the locality, which will make it possible to rapidly meet the need for cadres. We must concern ourselves with resolving those problems that exist regarding regulations and policies in order to build the corps of management cadres, leading specialists and prospective cadres.

In our public health plans of the past several years, we have only included norms on training, not norms on the supplementary training of cadres. This situation must be corrected; at the same time, practical steps must be taken to provide cadres with the conditions needed to periodically receive supplementary training. The districts have the responsibility of providing supplementary training to village cadres and the provinces have the responsibility of providing this training to district cadres.

As regards the various types of middle school cadres, we must send those persons who have recorded many achievements and show much prospect to colleges

and college classes within the specialized system. Providing training by this method will enable us to quickly establish a corps of cadres who are local persons, possess specialized skills and are happy to serve within the district.

Those provinces and municipalities that have the necessary conditions must, with the assistance of the institutes, hospitals, and colleges of medicine and pharmacy under the Ministry of Public Health, hold level I and level II specialized classes for cadres who have a college education.

As regards students, we must cultivate within them the spirit and attitude required of a people's public health cadre; at the same time, we must also concern ourselves with their living conditions and encourage and reward good students who possess good ethics by providing larger scholarships.

At present, public health cadres are encountering very many difficulties in their daily lives; however, the policy of the public health sector is still one that prevents physicians from establishing private practices, prevents pharmacists from selling drugs privately and fails to satisfy the three interests at public health installations. In order to reduce the difficulties being encountered in the daily lives of public health cadres, the various levels of government must fully implement the regulations on salaries and bonuses, occupational allowances, responsibility allowances and dangerous communicable disease allowances for cadres. The regulations governing village public health cadres continue to be those that were established by the people a long time ago. The state has promulgated decisions concerning the regulations and policies governing village and subward public health cadres. These documents resolved basic problems in order to stabilize the living conditions of public health cadres in the villages and subwards. The localities must take steps to implement these decisions in order to maintain the public health network on the basic level.

In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, public health care cannot develop beyond the capabilities of the national economy. By gaining a full understanding of the spirit of the resolutions of the 3rd and 4th Plenums of the 5th Party Central Committee, by making every effort to display self-reliance, by bringing about strong changes in thinking and organization and by developing appropriate, primary measures, we will surely be able to maintain and gradually improve the quality of public health activities and more effectively support our people's work of building socialism and maintaining the defense of the fatherland.

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## THE REVOLUTION AND CULTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 46-50

[Unattributed article commemorating the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture"]

### [Text] I. Possibilities and Reality

Forty years ago the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture" was adopted. At that time, World War II was spreading and the nation of Vietnam was being strangled by two powers: France and Japan, which were competing against each other in plundering and exploiting our people and suppressing and terrorizing the revolutionary movement being led by our party. The political and ideological situation within society was very complex. Patriotic intellectuals, writers and students, having been influenced by the party, wanted to join the revolution. But France and Japan employed fascist methods in an attempt to thwart and kill Vietnamese culture. They suppressed, intimidated and bought the allegiance of persons engaged in cultural work; they printed materials and organized cultural agencies and mass organizations to indoctrinate and deceive our people. Contemporary legitimate Vietnamese culture fell into a state of chaos and became anti-national, anti-scientific and anti-popular in nature. In public literary society, there were all kinds of boot-licking literature, stoic literature and defeatist literature. An "assimilation" movement spread in linguistics, literature, art, customs and thinking.(1) There were some nationalist trends, but the Thanh Nghi movement was reformist and the Tri Tan movement clung stubbornly to the old ways. The Han Thuyen movement consisted of Trotskyites who were being paid by both the French and the Japanese to distort and undermine the revolution. The Tu Luc Van Doan movement had openly embraced Japan. Many reactionary and idealist theories and schools of thinking were being promoted. Trends of mysticism, absurdity, decadence and nostalgia were spreading in art.

It was in this situation that the conference of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee, which was held from 25 to 28 February 1943 decided the following when discussing ways to further accelerate the development of the revolution throughout the country into a widespread movement: "The party must assign cadres who specialize in cultural activities the task of launching a progressive cultural movement, a national salvation cultural movement

against the receding fascist culture. In such cultural centers as Hanoi, Saigon, Hue and so forth, we must establish national salvation cultural organizations and employ both public and quasi-public forms of activity to unite artists and intellectuals."(2)

Against this background, the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture" emerged as a bright torch lighting the way and rallied patriotic cultural activists of Vietnam to the National Salvation Cultural Association, a member of the Viet Minh Front.

The "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture was the first cultural platform of the party. It proposed two possibilities concerning the future of Vietnamese culture: "1) If the fascist culture (the culture of the Middle Ages and enslavement) is victorious, Vietnamese national culture will wither and decline; 2) if Vietnamese nationalist culture is brought to victory by the democratic liberation revolution, it will throw off its chains and quickly catch up to the modern democratic culture of the world." The thesis asserted: "The Vietnamese national revolution will surely make the second possibility a reality."(3) This assertion was well based. Although it was called only a possibility, it did not reflect subjective thinking.

In order to assert the bright future of Vietnamese culture, the thesis applied the theory of Marxism-Leninism in a thorough and systematic manner to evaluate and analyze the situation faced by Vietnamese culture and point out the danger posed to it under the yoke of Japanese-French fascism. On the basis of the economic, political and social conditions of Vietnam that existed then and the cultural activities that had been conducted by the party and by Nguyen Ai Quoc, the thesis pointed to "the new cultural trends that is straining to overcome every obstacle and blossom (underground literature and art)." A scientific world view and dialectical materialism permeated the thesis. The thesis not only set goals, it also attached importance to organizing their specific implementation and set forth the immediate tasks and measures of the new cultural campaign. As a result, well before the 1945 August Revolution, as early as 1943, patriotic cultural activists and intellectuals in Vietnam were firmly confidence in the assertion made in the thesis and determined to struggle to bring victory to the new culture of Vietnam in accordance with the three principles of making it a national culture, a culture of the masses, a scientific culture.

Such was the significance and the important value of the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture."

## II. Historic Inevitability

Today, 40 years after the adoption of the thesis, the new culture of Vietnam that was brought to victory by the Vietnamese national liberation revolution has become Vietnamese socialist culture. This was also predicted in the thesis. While emphasizing the new culture of Vietnam as "the most revolutionary and progressive culture in Indochina in this stage," as a result of the policy of the Indochinese Communist Party, "a culture that is national in nature and modern democratic in content" but "not a socialist culture," the

thesis pointed out: "The culture that the Indochinese cultural revolution must bring into existence will be a socialist culture." "We must carry out the socialist revolution in Indochina and establish the socialist revolution everywhere in Indochina."

Of course, history follows its own specific course. Practice is always broadly different and diverse. It was not until 30 years later, following many turning points, that the national democratic revolution was completed so that the entire country could be reunified and begin advancing to socialism. Vietnamese culture also changed to keep pace with these major changes in the Vietnamese revolution.

Released from its chains by the August Revolution, Vietnamese culture continued to grow stronger and develop on the basis of its theory in order to become "a widespread and effective culture of resistance and national construction."(4)

After 1954, the issue of the cultural revolution was raised in the North with a view toward molding the thinking, the knowledge and the feelings of the new, socialist man. Literature and art, which constitute an important part of the new, Vietnamese culture, thus had to become and actually became socialist literature and art in the North; in the South, our literature and art, although they continued to be national and democratic in nature, were now national and democratic under new circumstances, namely, the fact that the North was now socialist. Although the literature and art in each zone of our country supported the tasks of the revolution in their own ways, the literature and art of the North and South were the literature and art of one country, shared Marxist-Leninist ideology, were closely linked by socialist ideals, were led by the Vietnam Communist Party and were, for the most part, resistance war literature and art. Therefore, the 4th Congress of the Party observed: "Over the past several decades, we have basically established a socialist literature and art(...). Through the achievements recorded primarily in reflecting the nation's two great wars of resistance, our country's literature and art are worthy of taking their place within the vanguard ranks of the anti-imperialist literature and art of our times."(5)

Today, the ideological and cultural revolution is being carried out at the same time as the production relations revolution and the scientific and technological revolution throughout our country. We are creating a new culture that is "socialist in content and national in nature, is characterized by a profound sense of party consciousness, is highly popular and is imbued with patriotism and proletarian internationalism."(6) Our thinking, our education and our art have developed. The new, socialist culture of Vietnam, although still young, is a powerful culture, one filled with vitality and promise. No longer flowing merely within a stream or river, it has now become the cultural ocean itself. This was an historic inevitability.

By being closely linked to the revolution and serving it, the culture has won victories and developed along with the victories and development of the revolution itself, from the national democratic revolution directly to socialism because, in Vietnam, the revolution, our culture and the cultural revolution have been under the leadership of a Vietnam communist party, the

party of the Vietnamese working class, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party for more than one-half century.

### III. The Consistency of a Correct Line

Has not the advance from a national, democratic culture to a socialist culture against an international background filled with changes, at two different times in the two different zones of our country, to socialist culture that is now nationwide in scope raised countless new and complex problems requiring the prompt, correct and clear-sighted guidance of the party?

The "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture" was followed by letters and speeches by President Ho Chi Minh; the famous "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture" Report; the resolutions of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party and the letters of the Party Central Committee to the National Literature and Art Congresses; speeches by Le Duan Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, To Huu and other party leaders, etc. As a result, the theory underlying Vietnamese culture, literature and art has become increasingly well defined and accurate.

It can be said that the party's line on culture, literature and art is like a tree that grows larger, becomes more beautiful and bears more fruit with each passing day, a tree that has its roots in the 1943 "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture." Its roots are the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism concerning culture as applied to the circumstances of Vietnam: culture "is one of the three fronts (economic, political and cultural) on which communists must be active"; "the cultural revolution must be completed before society can be transformed"; culture must serve the people, serve the revolution, serve national independence, democracy and socialism; the ideological backbone of culture must be "the theory of dialectical materialism and historical materialism"; the creative method of literature and art must be "describing the reality of socialism," that is, socialist realism; and Vietnamese culture must be led by the party of the Vietnamese working class. In the final analysis, its roots lie in the correct and consistent political line of the party.

Therefore, as is the case with the political line, the line of the party on culture, literature and art is a correct and consistent one. The correctness of this line has always embodied the factors needed for the line to grow and develop. The consistency of this correct line has caused it to develop in a continuous, steady manner and fulfill its promise. A new and brilliant period of Vietnamese culture is emerging along with the Vietnamese renaissance that began when the entire country achieved its independence, became reunified and began advancing toward socialism.

### IV. The Honor and Responsibility of Cultural Militants

It is the honor of we cultural militants to struggle for the emergence of a rich and beautiful socialist Vietnamese culture under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, a culture based on the party's correct and consistent line regarding culture, literature and art. The responsibility for turning this line into living reality, for formulating and implementing a socialist cultural platform consistent with the nature and tasks of the new stage of the revolution lies, of course, with us.

Today, in the very difficult, arduous and complex socialist revolution, "we must always do our very best to reduce the difficulties being faced and gradually improve the material standard of living. At the same time, we attach very much importance to cultural life, to ethics, to interpersonal relations within each family, within each collective and within society as a whole. Although we have yet to achieve a high material standard of living, culturally, our lifestyle must be wholesome, bright and beautiful."(7) This viewpoint indicates the tremendous importance of the ideological and cultural revolution, of the role played by the cultural militant.

With knowledge of and trust in the socialism that is unfolding with each passing day, knowledge and trust based on both reason and sentiment, the cultural militant must fully reflect the cultural line of the party in each of his activities.

"In cultural activities, in literature and art, besides new achievements, besides new creative and performing talents and besides the advances that have been made in creating cultural life on the basis level, there are some writers and artists who have become skeptical and pessimistic, have divorced themselves from the line of the party, from reality and the working masses, become 'commercial,' begun to pursue base tastes in order to earn money for themselves, fallen into bourgeois art..."(8) These observations require that we re-evaluate our work.

The struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" on the cultural front is still a sharp and complex struggle. Socialist culture, the dominant culture, has been having an increasingly profound impact upon the spiritual lives of the people, even in the cities of the South that were once under the heavy influence of the imperialist, neo-colonialist culture. However, "generally speaking, the socialist lifestyle has not become a universal habit within our society"(9); there is still much trash of the old society that has not been cleaned up, still many indictions of a serious corruption of morals and lifestyle and we must always be vigilant and resolute in the face of the enemy's continuous attempts to sabotage us.

To implement the cultural line of the party, the cultural militant must give this line concrete form within his locality, within his specialized sector (as was recently done to some degree at many cultural conferences and literature and art congresses) and even within his particular work, thereby upholding the right of the masses to be the collective masters of the culture under the leadership of the party.

Finally, the implementation of the party's cultural line requires that cultural militants unite with and love one another, build a solid and strong organization for their occupation and eagerly work to become brave revolutionaries who are rich in knowledge and creativity.

Having received the high evaluation of the party and considered by the party to be a precious asset, may the corps of persons engaged in culture, literature and art prove themselves worthy of the trust of the party, worthy of the important mission assigned to them. This is a practical and effective way to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture," a way that reflects high quality.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Truong Chinh: "Several Major Principles Underlying the New Vietnamese Cultural Campaign at This Time (September, 1944)."
2. Party Proceedings, 1930-1945, published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, p 346.
3. All subsequent quotations not footnoted are excerpts from the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture," 1943.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Letter to the Second National Cultural Conference"(15 July 1948), TUYEN TAP, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 441.
5. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 121.
6. The proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, pp 93-94.
7. Pham Van Dong: "To Our People, Socialism Is a Good and Beautiful Encounter, Is a Rendezvous," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 10-1983.
8. The resolution of the 4th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee.
9. Ibid.

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THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, THE VANGUARD UNIT OF THE WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 51-67

[Article by To Quyen]

[Text] On 28 June 1951, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, a successor of the Indochinese Communist Party, was born amidst the flames of the resistance against the French colonialist aggressors. This important political event marked a great turning point in the history of Kampuchea's revolutionary struggle.

In more than 30 years of arduous struggle and sacrifices, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party has led the working class and people of Kampuchea in upholding the tradition of national unity and their tradition of solidarity among the three countries of Indochina and in defeating the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphon traitors, the lackeys of Chinese expansionism and hegemony. The historic victory won on 7 January 1979 smashed the genocidal regime, defeated the plans of expansionism and hegemony of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles and marked the start for the people of Kampuchea of an era of true independence and freedom, an era of building a civilized, progressive and happy life.

By studying the course that the vanguard unit of the working class and people of Kampuchea has followed in its activities, we become even more proud of "our brothers and sisters from the glorious Indochinese Communist Party, our comrades-in-arms, our close comrades struggling under the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism for the ideals of independence, freedom and socialism."(1)

I. The Patriotic Struggle Movement and the Birth of the Marxist-Leninist Party in Kampuchea

The struggle against the country-robbing colonialists and the traitorous feudalists.

The people of Kampuchea have a tradition of tenacious, unyielding struggle against foreign aggression and against reactionary domestic rulers. Beginning in the 13th century, Thai tribesmen swept down from the north to occupy a major portion of the territory of the Kampucheans and establish the country of Thailand. Kampuchea began to decline in the 15th century, as the various factions within the royal family competed for power and murdered one another. By the middle of the 19th century, the western colonialists had invaded and annexed Kampuchea, turning it into a colony. In 1863, after occupying several provinces in South Vietnam, the French colonialists threatened Kampuchea. The Norodom Imperial Court, the representative of the cowardly feudal class, cheaply sold the nation's interests away and signed the "11 August 1863 Protective Agreement." In 1867, as a result of collaboration between the French colonialists and the kingdom of Siam, much fertile, arable land of Kampuchea was ceded to the Siamese feudalists.

In 1884, after annexing all of Vietnam, the French colonialists forced the Norodom Imperial Court to accept an already prepared treaty of surrender, which was signed on the night of 17 June 1884 as the king slept. From Kampuchea, French forces marched to the north where, coordinating with French forces arriving from Vietnam, they attacked and occupied Laos (1893), thus establishing "French Indochina," a region that consisted of the three countries of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

Through their extremely harsh tax code, the French colonialists exploited the Kampucheans to their very bones. The cruel rule of the French colonialists kept the economy and society of Kampuchea in a perpetual cycle of backwardness. Anti-French movements of many different forms broke out throughout the country. Struggles against taxes, conscription, servile labor and so forth led to armed rebellions at many places, such as Stung Treng, Battambang, Siem Reap, Kampot, Prey Veng, Kompong Chhnang, Kratie and so forth. These struggles could not avoid being defeated by the cruel suppression of the French colonialists. However, the tenacious, unyielding will of the Kampuchean people to struggle could not be shaken.

Deserving of attention is the fact that through the various anti-French movements, close relations of mutual assistance developed at an early date between the people of Kampuchea and the people of Vietnam. Many uprisings by Kampuchean patriots were linked to activities conducted by patriotic Vietnamese forces and vice versa. The Kampuchea-Vietnam border area was often a base used by both nations in their resistance against the common enemy.(2)

Generally speaking, although the anti-French movement in Kampuchea was a continuous and intense movement, it did not resolve the basic and main contradiction of Kampuchean society. This was the contradiction between the Khmer nation and the country-robbing French colonialists. It was clear that all of the anti-French movements that were led by patriotic princes, monks and peasants met with defeat because they lacked a line suited to the new age, the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. The forces that led the various struggles lacked the conditions needed to lead the cause of national liberation to victory.

In 1930, after the Indochinese Communist Party was established and began to brandish the banner of Marxism-Leninism throughout the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the patriotic independence and freedom movement of the people of Kampuchean entered a new stage. At the same time, the alliance between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean revolutions as well as the alliance among the revolutions of the three countries of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos were established and constantly grew.

The historic role of the Indochinese Communist Party in the revolutionary movement in Kampuchea.

In early 1930, in a letter to the communists of Indochina, the Communist International confirmed: "The most important and urgent task of all Indochinese communists is to found a revolutionary party of the proletariat(...). This party must be a single party and be the only communist organization in Indochina."(\*)

On 3 February 1930, in keeping with the resolution of the Communist International, the various communist organizations in Indochina met to merge into a single communist party. The party initially took the name the Vietnam Communist Party. Several months later, in keeping with a decision made by the Communist International, the party changed its name to the Indochinese Communist Party. A resolution adopted by the Party Central Committee in October, 1930 clearly stated the need to change the party's name: "Calling the party the Vietnam Communist Party would exclude Kampuchea and Laos and it would be incorrect to leave the proletariat of these two regions outside the party because the proletariat of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, although their languages, customs and races differ, must maintain close political and economic liaison." The leaflet explaining the change in the party's name emphasized: "The proletarians and all oppressed laboring masses of these three countries who want to topple imperialism, win back their independence and bring down the mandarins and landowners in order to liberate themselves must struggle together, not separately."

At that time, the ruling apparatus of the colonialists in "French Indochina" had been established in all three countries under the administration of a single governor-general. The armies of the French colonialists and their feudal lackeys in each country were usually mobilized as a single force to directly suppress the revolutionary movement in all three countries. As the letter sent by the Party Central Committee to the various levels of the party organization on 9 December 1930 pointed out: "Politically, all three countries are being oppressed by the French imperialists, all three are under the unified imperialist government in Indochina. If one country carries out a revolutionary campaign in which the other two do not participate, it cannot topple the government of the French imperialists."

During this period, the classes within Kampuchean society broke down. The corrupt and cowardly feudal class completely surrendered to the imperialists. The national bourgeoisie had not truly come into existence because the small, newly established sectors of the economy were controlled by the French colonialists and Chinese merchants. The stratum of intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie was also small because the French, instead of attaching importance

to training, only used Vietnamese civil servants within the government apparatus. Peasants, although they possessed the spirit of struggling against oppression, had yet to free themselves from the dependency of a subject upon his king and were still controlled by superstitions. The working class and labor force of the cities had only formed within a few sectors, such as the transportation sector, the power and water sector and rubber plantations, but the majority of these persons were not Kampuchean.

In view of the uneven development of the revolutionary movement in Indochina and in keeping with a directive from the Communist International, the communists of Vietnam were given the responsibility of assisting the revolutions of Kampuchea and Laos. Many Vietnamese cadres and party members went to Kampuchea to conduct activities and build the base of the revolution in the noble spirit of proletarian internationalism.

In 1930, the first communist group was established at the Sisovat Middle School in Phnom Penh. Later, a communist group began to operate in the rubber growing area of Kompong Cham. In late 1931, the party organized revolutionary bases in Phnom Penh, Kon Dan, Kompong Cham and Kratie; a number of party chapters were established and began conducting activities during the 2 years 1932 and 1933. By 1934, Kampuchea had a Party Affairs Committee, about seven or eight party chapters with more than 30 members and hundreds of party sympathizers.

During that period, the communists in Kampuchea encountered many difficulties in their activities. Because they were ruthlessly suppressed and terrorized by the government apparatus of the French colonialists in Indochina, the party chapters did not remain in existence for very long and the new bases of the party were crushed soon after they were established. However, the people continued to arise in struggle on their own at many places. In particular, during the period from 1933 to 1935, the democratic reform struggles of the two monks Acha Miet and Acha Preng broke out. These struggles were ultimately extinguished.

The leadership role of the Indochinese Communist Party within the Kampuchean revolution was clearly evident within the Indochinese Democratic Front during the period from 1936 to 1939. In early 1937, the Action Committee was established in Phnom Penh in response to the Indochina Congress Movement. Progressive, public books and magazines of the party were widely distributed for the first time in Phnom Penh and the other cities. This campaign had the participation of large numbers of democratic students, intellectuals and civil servants and had the sympathy and support of the working people. Thousands of persons participated in a demonstration and presented their demands for democratic freedoms when a delegation from the French Popular Front headed by G. Goda arrived in Phnom Penh. Also during that period, approximately 300 workers at the Kompong Cham Rubber Service staged a strike to press their demands for increased wages, reduced working hours and the freedom to form trade unions.

Generally speaking, the activities of the party during the period of the Indochinese Democratic Front exerted a rather good influence and inspired the struggle for democracy and the welfare of the people. However, the party base

did not grow by much and the struggle could not be maintained for very long. In 1938, the organization of the party in Kampuchea was again terrorized and all bases of the revolution were suppressed.

World War II broke out. The Japanese fascists occupied Indochina. All three countries of Indochina were placed under the yoke of oppression and exploitation of the French colonialists and Japanese fascists. In the face of this new situation, the Indochinese Communist Party changed the focus of its strategic guidance and evaluated the issue of national independence in a more comprehensive manner. The party stressed national liberation as the foremost task of the Indochinese revolution and considered the national liberation movement to be an integral part of the world revolutionary movement.

The resolution of the 6th Central Committee Plenum of the Indochinese Communist Party (November, 1939) stated: "No nation can achieve its liberation separately because Indochina is under the sole rule of the imperialists politically, economically and militarily (...); the alliance of the nations of Indochina need not take the form of a single nation because Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos have been independent since antiquity. Each nation has the right to decide its destiny in accordance with its own desires..."

The resolution of the 8th Party Plenum (May, 1941) also stressed: "...Now, the Party Central Committee places the entire issue of national liberation within the framework of each country of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, in the spirit that the national liberation revolutions of the peoples of these three countries must be based on and closely related to one another, must stimulate and help one another win victory..." The plenum adopted the policy of helping the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos establish the Cao Mien Independence League and the Ai Lao Independence League. The conference held by the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee on 28 February 1943 assigned the Nam Ky Regional Party Committee the responsibility of helping Kampuchea promote the establishment of the organization mentioned above. However, following the defeat of the 23 November 1940 uprising, the Nam Ky Regional Party Committee itself began to encounter many difficulties. Moreover, practically all of the party's organizations in Kampuchea had been terrorized in 1938 and had still not been rebuilt. As a result, the resolutions and policies adopted by the Indochinese Communist Party during the period from 1940 to 1945 could not be implemented in Kampuchea. However, the party organization in Kampuchea did try to remain active and did manage to launch an anti-war movement when an armed conflict broke out between Siam and France (1940) along the Kampuchea-Siam border. The party also led the struggle by truck drivers against the order to transport troops from Kampuchea to Vietnam to suppress the Nam Ky Uprising. Also during that period, after the patriotic campaign launched by the Buddhist monk Acha Hem Chieu (1941-1942) was crushed by means of violent force by the authorities in Phnom Penh, lackeys of the Japanese fascists headed by Son Ngoc Thanh frantically launched an anti-French movement in a vain attempt to gain influence among the people.

Following the coup d'etat by Japan that kicked the French out on 9 March 1945, a lackey government of the Japanese fascists was set up in Phnom Penh with Son Ngoc Thanh as premier. Sihanouk, the successor to King Sisovat Monivong,

quickly switched his allegiance from France to Japan. When the Japanese fascists were defeated on the battlefield and surrendered to the allies (August, 1945), the French colonialists, taking advantage of this opportunity, sent expeditionary forces back to annex Indochina for a second time. At that time, the people of Kampuchea had not made the preparations needed to carry out a general uprising and seize political power as had been done in Vietnam and Laos. However, under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party, the peoples of the three countries stood shoulder to shoulder and waged a common fight against the enemy aggressor. The Kampuchean revolution entered a new period: the period of the resistance against France, which lasted from late 1945 until July, 1954.

The war of resistance against France and the birth of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party.

On 15 September 1945, French paratroops landed in Phnom Penh. The Japanese government collapsed. Sihanouk, representing the Kampuchean royal dynasty, once again bowed his head and accepted the "protection" of the French imperialists through a temporary treaty signed on 7 January 1946. In that treaty, the French considered Kampuchea to be an "internally autonomous" country.

A number of Kampuchean patriotic scholars fled to South Vietnam, where they established the Cao Mien Independence Committee and prepared forces for going back to fight the French. A number of others fled to Thailand, where they were helped by overseas Vietnamese to organize the Khmer National Liberation Committee.

Under the guidance and with the direct assistance of the organizations of the Indochinese Communist Party in Nam Bo and Trung Bo and the overseas Vietnamese Special Party Committee in Thailand, Kampuchean patriots, aligned with volunteer Vietnamese cadres and soldiers, waged a coordinated armed and political struggle against the French and launched a guerrilla war among Kampuchean peasants. In the two provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap near the Kampuchea-Thai border, armed groups of Itsarak Khmer (Free Khmer) also used the mountainous jungles to resist the French.

In June, 1945, a communist party chapter was established in Battambang that consisted of Khmer party members, one of whom, Son Ngoc Minh, was Kampuchea's first communist party member.

In November, 1946, an armed Itsarak Khmer group, in coordination with an armed combat unit of the overseas Vietnamese Special Party Committee in Thailand, attacked Siem Reap City and controlled it for several consecutive days, thus achieving widespread prestige. This victory inspired the people of Kampuchea to step up their resistance against France.

At that time, on the battlefield in Indochina, Kampuchea was the place where French occupational forces were weak and were vulnerable at many points. With the support of the people, the resistance forces in Kampuchea broadened their operations in many areas of the country.

In 1947, a resistance base area was established in southeastern Kampuchea. With Tu Samut and Keo Mani participating in their leadership, joint Kampuchean-Vietnamese forces liberated many villages and hamlets in Prey Veng Province. In 1948, additional base areas were established in the northeast. In eastern Kampuchea, Kampuchean troops called the Xi Votha liberated many areas in Svay Rieng Province with the assistance of Vietnamese armed forces. In March, 1948, the Southwest Kampuchean National Liberation Committee headed by Son Ngoc Minh was established. Patriotism and the anti-French spirit were awakened everywhere and quickly grew among all strata of the people, including intellectuals and monks. The masses were rallied under the resistance war, national salvation banner of the Itsarak Khmer Front led by the party. The base of the party was built and developed in many rural and urban areas. In March, 1949, a single liberated zone measuring thousands of square kilometers was opened in the two provinces of Stung Treng and Kratie. Thus, under the leadership of the party, the resistance war forces in Kampuchea seized political power in many rural areas and in the outskirts of some municipalities and cities in the space of only a few years. In Kampuchea, a relatively stable communications corridor extending from the Thai border to the Vietnam border had been established.

By late 1949, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Government had been established in 418 (of more than 1,000) villages in 40 districts within 10 provinces. The base areas and liberated zone had a population of 1 million. The various revolutionary organizations had 107,000 members. Guerrilla militia forces numbered more than 80,000 (each village had from 1 armed squad to 1 armed platoon). By 1950, resistance forces were operating in all provinces of Kampuchea. The Indochinese Communist Party organization in Kampuchea, in accordance with a decision by the organization's leadership committee, adopted the name the Kampuchean National Party Affairs Committee.

The Itsarak Khmer Front held a national congress of delegates between 17 and 19 April 1950. The congress elected the National Front National Unity Committee and elected Tu Samut as its chairman. The congress also appointed the Provisional National Liberation Central Committee (that is, the National Resistance War Government) headed by Son Ngoc Minh, which set forth the line on the war of resistance and established the national flag and national anthem. During the congress, the Declaration of Independence of Kampuchea was announced to the people of the country and the world.

The events described above were of extremely important significance. They marked a very large and glorious stage of development of the Kampuchean revolution together with the unification of the resistance war forces of the entire country under a single leadership and command across the entire Kampuchean battlefield. For the first time in history, a Kampuchean revolutionary government had been formed and had, together with the revolutionary government of Vietnam, established a true alliance between the peoples of the two countries against their common enemy.

On 19 June 1951, the united Kampuchean armed forces officially presented themselves to the people during a large meeting held in Kompong Trapong Village in Snaombau District, Kampot Province, calling themselves the Itsarak

Troops. This date marks the anniversary of the founding of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Kampuchea's corps of cadres and party members had also grown stronger. In 1949, the country had but 21 Khmer party members; by December, 1950, it had 300 party members active in 27 army party chapters, 28 village and hamlet party chapters, 4 enterprise party chapters and 1 city party chapter. The majority of party members came from the backgrounds of peasants and laborers and some belonged to the stratum of petty bourgeois students or were patriotic monks. Practically all of them were loyal to the revolution, endured hardships, possessed a high spirit of responsibility and had a correct understanding of the close relations between Kampuchea and Vietnam. This force was trained and developed into the future nuclei of the leadership levels of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party.

As the war of resistance grew, the leadership role of the party was strengthened. Facing new developments in the situation surrounding the revolution in the three countries of Indochina and the world, the Indochinese Communist Party held its second national congress of delegates in February, 1951. The congress decided that the party should engage in public activities and reorganize itself to suit the situation within each country.

In Vietnam, the party, which adopted the name the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, had the mission of continuing to lead our people's war of resistance while helping the revolutionary parties in Laos and Kampuchea struggle for victory.

On 11 March 1951, the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao alliance conference was convened among delegates of the three national united fronts of the three countries: the Lien Viet Front, the Khmer Itsarak Front and the Lao Itsala Front. The conference further strengthened the solidarity of the peoples of the three countries against their common enemies, the French colonialist aggressors and the U.S. interventionists, in order to achieve the common goals of national liberation and national independence.

On 28 June 1951, Kampuchean communists held a congress and decided to found the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party. A successor to the Indochinese Communist Party, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party accepted the responsibility of leading the entire national liberation revolution in Kampuchea. The congress elected the leadership committee of the party, which was headed by Son Ngoc Minh and Tu Samut.

The birth of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party--the vanguard unit of the people and nation of Kampuchea, a unit of the most loyal, the most eager and most dedicated patriots and democrats within the ranks of the resistance--stimulated the strong development of the revolutionary undertaking of the people of Kampuchea. The influence of the resistance war movement being led by the party increasingly spread among the people, thus causing concerns on the part of the French and forcing them to go through the motions of granting "independence" to the kingdom of Kampuchea. At the same time, they hastily established a number of other political parties in a vain attempt to deceive public opinion. However, these steps failed to weaken the tenacious fighting spirit of the people of Kampuchea.

The French colonialists were encountering increasing defeats and frustration in their war of aggression in Indochina. Coordinating with the armies and peoples of Vietnam and Laos, the army and people of Kampuchea intensified the guerrilla war throughout the country and continuously inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy, thereby contributing to the brilliant victory won by the three countries of Indochina in 1954.

The 1954 Geneva Agreement on the restoration of peace in Indochina stated the principle of respecting the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and acknowledged the withdrawal of French forces from Kampuchean territory. This was a victory unprecedented in the history of the heroic people of Kampuchea, a victory that was won following nearly 100 years of struggle against the colonial imperialists for national liberation. It also represented the victory of the correct war of resistance line adopted and implemented by the Marxist-Leninist party and a victory of the great militant solidarity of the peoples of the three fraternal countries of Indochina and the sympathy and support given them by progressive mankind.

However, due to the sinister plots and activities of the imperialists collaborating with the Chinese authorities at the 1954 Geneva Convention, the people of Kampuchea did not win a victory that was commensurate with the results that they had achieved in their struggle. The evil, vile betrayal committed by the Chinese authorities through the Geneva Accords undermined the accomplishments recorded by the people of Kampuchea in their war of resistance by not providing the resistance war forces of Kampuchea with an area in which to regroup and requiring that they demobilize where they stood. Political power in Kampuchea continued to be held by the feudal class and bourgeois bureaucrats. This did not correctly reflect the comparison of forces that existed on the battlefield at that time.

Clearly, before the 1954 Geneva Agreement was signed, the anti-French resistance had reached an unprecedented level of development under the leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party. Nearly one-half of Kampuchea's population and two-thirds of its land had been liberated. The revolutionary armed forces numbered 50,000 militia troops, guerrillas and combat self-defense forces and 41 regular army platoons on the district level; 63 of the 89 districts had revolutionary bases (36 districts had strong bases and were the frequent site of guerrilla operations). The revolutionary mass organizations had a total membership of 790,000. As of October, 1954, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party had about 1,800 members active in 165 party chapters, practically all of which were rural party chapters; 50 of the 89 districts had district party committees.

In the new stage of the revolution following the restoration of peace, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party shifted from an armed struggle to a political struggle. The party sent more than 1,000 cadres and soldiers, including 190 party members, to North Vietnam for training. The majority of the party's organizations went underground. A number of Kampuchean cadres were assigned to legitimate, overt activities within the Pracheachon (popular) Group headed by Keo Mia.

From 1955 on, the people of Kampuchea continued their struggle to strengthen their independence, peace and neutrality and resist the intervention and aggression by the U.S. imperialists. For many years in a row, the reactionary authorities found ways to ruthlessly suppress and terrorize the revolutionary movements led by the party. In particular, it was during this period that the Pol Pot-Teng Sary clique, masquerading as "revolutionaries," infiltrated the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, engaged in intense divisive and factional activities and initiated a plan to seize leadership within the party.

The Kampuchean revolution then experienced an extremely dark period of its history. Revolutionary forces were dealt heavy losses. The organization of the party was very seriously damaged.

## II. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party During the Period Filled with Challenges and Heavy Losses

The activities of the party during the stage of political struggle.

Following the restoration of peace in Indochina (July, 1954), the U.S. imperialists undermined the implementation of the Geneva Agreement, gradually kicked out the French colonialists and turned this strategically important region into a neo-colony and military base of theirs.

In Kampuchea, through the allure of economic and military "aid," the U.S. imperialists created within the ruling class a stratum of lackeys who served as the base in the implementation of their neo-colonialist policy. The United States had clearly become the dangerous and immediate enemy of the people of Kampuchea.

Sihanouk, who represented the Kampuchean ruling class, conducted intense activities designed to curb the influence of the revolutionary forces being led by the party while building his own political forces to strengthen his rule. Sihanouk had a dual personality: on the one hand, a reactionary like the other members of the ruling class, he ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary movement; on the other hand, he also sought to use the balance that existed between the two main powers in the world to pursue a course of peace and neutrality in the hope of acquiring aid from both capitalist and socialist countries in order to develop his economy and culture.

As it began this new stage in the struggle, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party defined its task as continuing to carry out the national, democratic revolution, with the immediate goals being resisting the plan of the U.S. imperialists to enslave the country through neo-colonialism; protecting national independence and maintaining peace and neutrality; struggling for democracy and improvements in the welfare of the people; resisting the terror of the ruling class; and preserving and building the revolutionary forces of the masses.

The tactics adopted by the party concerning the Sihanouk government were both flexible and determined: on the one hand, the party encouraged, supported and cooperated with the positive policies of the royal government, such as its

pursuit of independence, peace and neutrality; on the other hand, it relied upon the masses and aligned itself with progressive elements within ruling circles to block and force the repeal of negative policies, such as the restrictions upon and eventual suspension of democratic freedoms, the suppression of progressive trends and the indiscriminate arrests.

The line of the party, which was given public expression through the "Popular" Group, had the widespread sympathy and support of the people. The public press of the party also made important contributions to bringing the positions and policies of the party to the middle classes and working people of the cities. The political struggle led by the party had the participation of large numbers of persons in the cities and the countryside for many years. The party's policies of resisting enslavement by the U.S. imperialists and firmly maintaining the peace, independence and neutrality of Kampuchea brought it considerable influence among youths, students and intellectuals. Struggles by peasants against oppression and exploitation by landowners and local officials(3), against the discrimination practiced against former resistance fighters and so forth continuously broke out in the countryside.

The Phnom Penh government, concerned over the spreading influence of the revolution, took steps to deal with it. In March, 1955, Sihanouk declared that he was stepping down from the throne and established the Xang-cum Re-extro Ni-y-um [Vietnamese phonetics] (Military-Civilian Social Coalition) consisting of many different political parties. In essence, this step by Sihanouk was designed to win over the masses, curb the revolutionary movement and create a new political position for Sihanouk himself. At the same time, in order to deceive and win over the people, the Phnom Penh government enacted several "democratic reforms."

In September 1955, the kingdom of Kampuchea held a general National Assembly election. Although candidates of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party ran for the election, because the ruling apparatus controlled the election campaign, the party did not win one seat in the National Assembly. However, the party's correct political line caused the ruling circles to not dare openly collaborate with the U.S. imperialists, yield to the pressure being exerted by the masses and declare themselves in pursuit of a positive policy of peace and neutrality.(4) In July, 1956, the government of the kingdom of Kampuchea established diplomatic relations with and began receiving aid from the socialist countries.

In the face of the positive developments that had occurred in Kampuchea, the U.S. imperialists urgently took a host of measures to undermine the independence and peace of Kampuchea, the pinnacle of which was the "Bangkok Plan," a vain effort to topple the neutral Sihanouk government.(5)

From 1956 to 1962, the mass movement to boycott U.S. "aid," demand the severing of diplomatic ties with the United States and so forth gained increasing strength in the cities, being highlighted by the anti-American demonstrations conducted by tens of thousands of pupils and students in Phnom Penh in October, 1961.

Concerned over this situation, the Sihanouk government, together with pro-

American radicals within the ruling class, looked for ways to stop and suppress the movement. They carried out mass arrests and terror, especially against people in the old resistance war areas. Many intellectuals were illegally detained.(6) Some revolutionary cadres who had been engaged in public activities were eliminated.

The 2nd Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party (September, 1960) and the Solidifying of the Party.

The terror employed by the rightwing reactionaries within the Phnom Penh government caused some cadres and party members to waver. They did not realize how correct the line, strategy and tactics adopted by the party during that period were. Because they lacked experience in political struggle, in lawful struggle, the various party organizations, especially on the basic level, encountered difficulties and were confused about how to maintain the movement. At many places, the basic organizations of the party became paralyzed and disintegrated. The number of party members quickly declined.(7)

The leadership agency of the party on the central level was also seriously weakened. In late 1958, Sieu Heng, a key cadre on the Provisional Central Committee, surrendered to the enemy. To avoid being exposed, virtually none of the other central committee members in charge of rural work conducted any activities from 1955 to 1958. The only central committee member who remained active was Deputy Secretary Tu Samut, who continued to guide the political struggle in the cities.

The party organizations on the local level lacked direction in their struggle for several years in a row. At many places, the movement simply stagnated. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party found itself facing a serious ideological and organizational crisis. This provided an opportunity for radical, nationalist, opportunist elements, masquerading as "communists," to return to the country from overseas and carry out their sinister intention: infiltrating the Party Central Committee and seizing leadership of the revolution.

On 30 September 1960, the 2nd Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary party was secretly convened in Phnom Penh for the purpose of reorganizing and solidifying the bases of the party in order to lead the revolution more effectively.

The congress adopted the Political Platform of the Party and the Party Statutes were amended to suit the new situation. The structure of the party's leadership committee was significantly changed. The new central committee, which consisted of eight official members and two alternate members, was headed by Secretary Tu Samut. This time, Saloth Sar (that is Pol Pot), a member of the Phnom Penh City Party Committee, and even Ieng Sary, a cadre of the city party committee, were elected as official members of the central committee; Pol Pot became a member of the standing committee.

Deserving of attention is the fact that both Pol Pot and Ieng Sary had studied in France and were active within the "Khmer Communist Student" group. In late 1953, Pol Pot returned to Kampuchea, where he failed in his attempt to

infiltrate the democratic party.(8) Later, he found a place for himself within the Itsarak Front led by Son Ngoc Minh and joined the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party. Prior to the party's second congress, Pol Pot was working on the Phnom Penh City Party Committee, where he was in charge of agitation among civil servants; Ieng Sary, who had returned to Kampuchea in 1957, was engaged in lawful activities within Phnom Penh.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary opportunists seized leadership of the party.

Within a short amount of time, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary had gained control over the important positions within the highest leadership agency of the party. By establishing contacts with and restoring the activities of some cadres, party members and old organizations of the party with whom communications had been severed, Pol Pot cleverly and quickly built his personal influence and prestige and gradually led the party in the wrong direction. Sown by Pol Pot, radical nationalist thinking gradually emerged among some cadres and party members, especially among new persons accepted into the party.

Following the 2nd Congress of the Party, Pol Pot was personally put in charge of leading training, re-education and the solidifying of the party's organization from the central to the basic levels. Taking advantage of this opportunity, he and Ieng Sary looked for every way to build their faction in order to strengthen their leadership position. Within the apparatus of the party on the central level, opportunists and petty bourgeois intellectuals gradually gained control of the key leadership positions. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party underwent a swift and marked change.

In addition to gradually removing genuine, competent and respected cadres and party members from the leadership apparatus of the party on the various levels, the evil Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique nurtured from an early date the ambition of grabbing all power for themselves. In the case of the sudden "disappearance" (August, 1962) of Secretary Tu Samut, which was announced by Pol Pot himself, Pol Pot could not be ruled out as the cruel instigator. This heinous act opened the way for Pol Pot to accelerate the process of undermining the revolution of the Kampuchean people.

During this period, the Kampuchean government, because it was monopolized by radical reactionary powers, hunted down and terrorized revolutionary and progressive forces. The component of the party that operated publicly could no longer maintain its activities.

In January, 1963, Pol Pot convened a "party congress"(9) to legitimize his position as supreme leader. The congress, which focused only on organizational matters, elected new members to the Party Central Committee and appointed the secretary and members of the Standing Committee. Anyone who was not aligned with the Pol Pot clique was removed from the central committee and close supporters of his were added to it.(10) Also at this "congress," Pol Pot changed the name of the party in order to erase the tradition of struggle of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the forerunner of which was the Kampuchean Party Organization of the Indochinese Communist Party (Pol Pot had made the same proposal at the 2nd Congress of the party held in September, 1960, but lacked the support of the delegates in attendance then).

Although the Pol Pot-Leng Sary clique had gained power within the party, they did not correctly analyze the political and social situation of Kampuchea, did not realize what the main objectives of the revolution were so that the struggle could be focused on achieving them and did not realize which forces had to be won over in order to divide and isolate the enemies of the people. They also did not link the analysis of the situation or the establishment of the line and tasks of the Kampuchean revolution with an analysis of the nature and trend of our times, of the world revolution or with the common strategic position occupied by the three countries of Indochina. They were never anything more than opportunists, than self-proclaimed "Marxists" who actually knew nothing at all about Marxist-Leninist theory.(11)

Pol Pot himself was a man of many large ambitions. In late 1965, he travelled to China in search of a permanent base of support. Having been indoctrinated by the Beijing ruling clique, he quickly became a disciple of Maoism, considering it to be "modern day Marxism-Leninism."

Returning to Kampuchea, Pol Pot and his accomplices adopted a series of resolutions concerning domestic policy, foreign policy, party building, party security, the arms struggle and so forth, which reflected many mistaken viewpoints based on the reactionary ideology and theory of Maoism.

In Kampuchean then, Sihanouk, while pursuing his policy of "balancing one force against another" in order to maintain a position of neutrality and protect the interests of the ruling class, still used the extreme-right, pro-U.S. forces led by Lon Nol to suppress the revolutionary movement and prevent the influence of the socialist countries from spreading in Kampuchea.

However, the trend of development of the revolutionary movement in Indochina and Southeast Asia still demanded that the Kampuchean revolution rally every available patriotic, democratic and progressive force in order to maintain peace, independence and neutrality while supporting, cooperating with and encouraging the Sihanouk government to firmly pursue a policy of peace and positive neutrality, a policy of opposing the intervention and infiltration by the U.S. imperialists. On the other hand, the party also needed more time and needed to acquire better conditions to spread its influence and build and develop its forces.

In March, 1967, the Pol Pot clique held an enlarged conference of the "Central Committee Standing Committee" at which incorrect assessments of the situation surrounding the Kampuchean revolution were made. They asserted that the party had achieved absolute superiority over the ruling class and that the national, democratic movement of Kampuchea had entered a stage of direct revolution and was becoming a nationwide movement; consequently, an armed struggle to topple the Sihanouk government could be launched. At a time when revolutionary bases had not been built or strengthened, the Pol Pot clique advocated the policy of implementing Mao's "people's war" line and launching a "revolutionary civil war"(!).

At the start of April, 1967, in the Som Lot area of Battambang Province, peasants staged an uprising and launched an armed attack against the local government apparatus. In 1968, an armed insurrection by ethnic minorities

broke out in Rattanakiri Province in northeast Kampuchea. These uprisings of an impetuous nature resulted in heavy losses: thousands of persons were the victims of bloody suppression, villages were burned to the ground, revolutionary bases were shattered, base areas were reduced in size and the party encountered increasing difficulties in its activities.

It is clear that Pol Pot's decision to launch a "civil war" against the royal government between 1967 and the end of 1969 gave the lackey, rightist powers of the United States in Phnom Penh additional reasons for intensifying their activities and broadening their influence within the government apparatus. The bureaucratic, militaristic feudalists, aligned with the compradore bourgeoisie, tightened their grip on power.

This situation led to the coup d'etat on 18 March 1970 in which the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionaries toppled Sihanouk, thus paving the way for U.S. forces and Saigon puppet forces to invade Kampuchea and bring to it the cruel tragedy of war.

The Kampuchean people's war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

The pro-U.S. coup d'etat and the freak of nature that was the "Khmer Republic" exacerbated the sharp contradictions within the ruling class in Kampuchea and highly divided this class. The people of Kampuchea saw this as an opportunity to arise and seize political power, rapidly develop their forces, promptly reverse the situation and cause the revolution to take long strides forward. With the prompt and positive coordination of Vietnamese volunteer troops, Kampuchean patriotic forces launched continuous attacks against the enemy, winning many large victories. Seventeen of the 20 provinces and municipalities in Kampuchea arose in armed struggle against the reactionary lackey powers of the United States. In less than one-half month (between 18 and 31 March 1970), the people and armed revolutionary units had attacked and took control of more than 40 district seats and towns and hundreds of villages and hamlets in 10 provinces in northeastern and southwestern Kampuchea. All strategic roads linking the capital Phnom Penh to the provinces were cut. The majority of the countryside was liberated, thus liberating more than 4 million persons of Kampuchea's total population at that time of 7 million. The various levels of the revolutionary government were established at many places.

On 23 March 1970, the Kampuchean National United Front was born. Its anti-American, national salvation platform, which was announced on 5 May 1970, strongly inspired the people of Kampuchea in their resistance against the United States, against the ringleader of the imperialist aggressors, against the most dangerous of the imperialist aggressors.

Then, an historic event of especially important significance occurred: The High Level Conference of the Peoples of the Three Countries of Indochina held on 24 and 25 April 1970 achieved brilliant success. At that conference, militant solidarity and a militant alliance among the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos were formed in order to resist the common enemy, the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackey reactionary cliques.

In the face of this situation, the U.S. imperialists recklessly threw 100,000 U.S. and Saigon puppet troops onto the Kampuchean battlefield in a vain attempt to save Lon Nol and crush the resistance forces. Between 1970 and 1974, the people of Kampuchea endured many savage attacks by very large enemy air, infantry and mechanized forces and continuously dealt those forces heavy blows. The enemy suffered heavy losses in the large-scale operations called "Fire God"(30 April-30 June 1970), "Chen La I"(7 September to the end of December 1970), "Total Victory, January 1971"(4 February-3 March 1971), "Chen La II"(20 August-December 1971), and so forth. The "Cambodianization of the war" strategy was a failure. The forces of the enemy were increasingly on the defensive and increasingly disorganized.

The resounding Route 9-Southern Laos victory in early 1971 and the tremendous victory of the strategic offensive in South Vietnam in March, 1972 created an extremely favorable situation for the people of Kampuchea in their resistance against the United States for national salvation. Having suffered heavy losses on the Indochina battlefield, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys ultimately had to sign the Paris Agreement on Vietnam (27 January 1973), thereby ending their war of aggression and withdrawing U.S. forces from Indochina. This was not only the great victory of the most brilliant war of resistance fought in the Vietnamese people's history of resistance against foreign aggression, it was also a very large victory for the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, who stood shoulder to shoulder in their fight against the common enemy. This victory also provided a major opportunity for the people of Kampuchea to move forward and defeat their enemy.

During the 2 years 1972 and 1973, the U.S. imperialists conducted heavy air attacks against Kampuchea in a vain attempt to prevent the collapse of the Lon Nol puppet government.(12) However, the strength of the United States "in the air" could not break the ever-tightening siege of the capital Phnom Penh and the other municipalities and cities by the army and people of Kampuchea.

By late 1973, the liberated zone accounted for 90 percent of Kampuchea's territory and more than 5 million of its people. The network of strategic rear service roads of the three countries was expanded. Aid shipments of weapons and military equipment from North Vietnam to Kampuchea increased 10-fold. The armed forces, which consisted of all three arms of the military, were constantly growing.

By the time of the 1974 rainy season, despite increased U.S. aid, the Phnom Penh puppet government was still under siege and very seriously isolated. Its fate was extremely precarious.

The general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975 by the army and people of Vietnam completely liberated South Vietnam. The people of Kampuchea found themselves facing an unprecedented opportunity for advancing their revolution to total victory.

On 1 January 1975, coordinating with Vietnamese volunteer forces and with the positive assistance of the people of Laos, the army and people of Kampuchea launched a campaign of strong attacks against the defense lines of the enemy in Phnom Penh and the other cities. After more than 100 days and nights of

fighting, the people of Kampuchea won brilliant victory on 17 April 1975 by liberating the capital Phnom Penh, liberating the entire country.

After more than 30 years of struggle against imperialism, against colonialism, both old and new, the people of Kampuchea had thrown off the yoke of colonialism and feudalism in their beloved country forever. As was the case with the complete victories won by the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos in their wars of resistance against the United States for national salvation, this victory of the Kampuchean revolution was of historic significance and epochal and character. It was also the victory of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace in the world.

However, the legitimate pride of the people of Kampuchea in the historic victory won on 17 April 1975 quickly evaporated. Immediately thereafter, the 2.5 million residents of Phnom Penh were forced by Pol Pot troops at the points of guns and bayonets to abandon their homes and property, leave the city and go to wilderness areas to perform servile labor. Thus began several years of unprecedented tragedies endured by each stratum of the people of Kampuchean under the bloody rule of the dictatorial and bellicose Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

The horrible act of betrayal of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the "communist" impersonators.

In order to turn Kampuchea into a military springboard in Indochina and Southeast Asia in keeping with China's strategy of big nation expansionism and hegemony, the reactionary rulers in Phnom Penh, with assistance from the Beijing reactionary authorities, in the form of a very large quantity of weapons and means of war of all types, urgently built a rather large mercenary army for China, an army that grew from seven divisions in 1975 to as many as 23 divisions by the end of 1978. Having gained control of counter-revolutionary violent force, they openly began to pursue an extremely reactionary policy at home and abroad.

Domestically, through their "thorough social revolution," they brazenly took from the people every democratic freedom and everything needed for a normal life and placed the people in disguised concentration camps, where they were forced to work until exhausted. They abolished markets and money, closed schools, demolished temples and trampled upon the fine traditions and customs of the nation. They brutally exterminated genuine revolutionary forces, conducted a vicious internal purge, murdered intellectuals and terrorized and barbarously tortured anyone who would not obey them. During the nearly 4 years that ruled the country, they killed about 3 million persons; the 4 million survivors were horribly maltreated. Every social structure had been destroyed, the country was in ruins and the nation of Kampuchea had been pushed to the brink of extinction.(13)

In its foreign policy, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, actively carrying out the evil plan of the Beijing reactionary authorities, volunteered to serve as the shock troops in the undermining of the revolution of the three countries of Indochina, beginning by weakening Vietnam and creating an unstable situation

in Southeast Asia, thereby opening the way for the big nation expansionism and big country hegemony of China to prevail in this region.

Because of its radical nationalist mentality, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique always held an especially hostile attitude toward the Vietnamese, the loyal and devoted brothers and sisters of the people of Kampuchea. They distorted history, provoked "national hatred" and denied the unity in struggle for the cause of national liberation between the two parties and peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam.

The history of the revolution over the past half century and more has proven: the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship among the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos were cultivated and constantly strengthened throughout the difficult and glorious revolutionary struggle of the people of these three countries and were a factor in the victory won by each country. It is clear that the return of Vietnamese volunteer forces to Kampuchea, where they closely coordinated with the operations of the army and people of that friendly country and recorded resounding feats of arms, future enhanced this long-standing tradition of unity in combat between the peoples of the two countries.

However, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique had been betraying the country for a long time. Even during the years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, they pursued a dual policy in their relations with Vietnam. On the outside, they feigned unity and friendship because they knew that they would have to rely upon Vietnam for aid, especially military aid. However, amongst themselves, they were anti-Vietnamese and considered Vietnam to be their "traditional enemy." This attitude was expressed in the resolution of the conference of the "Central Committee Standing Committee" held in September, 1970 through the "emphasis upon an independent, autonomous stand and opposition to the thinking of depending upon foreign countries." In essence, this action was designed to destroy the close unity with Vietnam that existed within the Kampuchean party.

The betrayal by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was made even more evident through their purge of all Kampuchean cadres and party members whom they accused of being "pro-Vietnamese" and through the bloody actions they took to gradually eliminate practically all Kampuchean cadres trained in North Vietnam who returned to participate in the resistance against the United States.(14)

In 1973, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique expressed great bitterness over the victory won by Vietnam through the signing of the Paris Agreement. They openly opposed Vietnam, by organizing demonstrations to press demands for the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops; by ambushing and killing many Vietnamese cadres and soldiers who were helping Kampuchea fight the Americans and puppets; by harrassing and attacking bases, warehouses, hospitals and agencies of Vietnam that were temporarily stationed in Kampuchea; by severely suppressing, massacring and exiling overseas Vietnamese and so forth.

After South Vietnam was liberated, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, at the urging of Beijing, brazenly sent forces to attack Phu Quoc Island (3 May 1975), invade many areas within the territory of Vietnam from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh (8

May 1975) and attack Tho Chu Island (10 May 1975). In late 1975 and early 1976, acts of provocation and operations to encroach and occupy land of Vietnam continuously occurred and became increasingly large in scale. On 30 April 1977, the armed conflicts initiated by them widened into a true war of aggression along the entire southwestern border of Vietnam.

In the end, however, their large-scale attack against the border of Vietnam was crushed in late December 1978. That filthy war of aggression caused the country of Kampuchea to suffer heavy losses of manpower and materiel.

However, the Kampuchean revolution suffered another, even larger loss. Because it had been torn apart by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary traitors, the Kampuchean party at that time was not a party of the working class, but a terrorist, dictatorial organization that was entirely opposed to the people of Kampuchea.

The entire network extending from the so called omnipotent "Angkor" to the "Kampuchean Communist Party" comprised nothing more than a bloody dictatorial apparatus that determined the lives of the citizens of Kampuchea. The relatives and supporters of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique controlled all power within the party and state agencies. A brutal family dictatorship unprecedented in the history of Kampuchea had been established. Scores of cadres and party members who would not obey them were very brutally murdered.(15) The armed forces, which they tightly controlled, became a bloodthirsty and insane tool for killing people, assassinating genuine revolutionaries and committing countless crimes against the Vietnamese.

The evil plans and ruthless actions of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique before and after they usurped leadership within the party and took control of the country clearly showed that they were persons who were pretending to be "revolutionaries" and impersonating "communists" in order to destroy the party and betray the revolutionary cause of the people of Kampuchea. Following the orders of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, they implemented a policy of genocide in Kampuchea and turned Kampuchea into a huge prison, into a hell on earth.

Faced with the threat of annihilation and facing a disaster for their country, the people of Kampuchea, under the determined leadership of genuine revolutionary and patriotic forces, arose of necessity and overthrew the criminal regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the lackeys of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Message of greetings delivered by Le Duan, head of the delegation from the Vietnam Communist Party at the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (May, 1981).
2. For example: the relations between Acha Xoa and Nguyen Huu Huan, Pocumbo and Truong Quyen and so forth. Some Vietnamese patriots in the Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc organization, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and the New Viet Revolutionary Party were also active in Kampuchea.

- \* All passages within quotation marks in this article are excerpts from documents and materials of the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee.
3. According to incomplete data, between 1960 and 1968, there were as many as 2,000 peasant struggles over the agrarian issue.
  4. On 14 December 1955, after joining the United Nations, Kampuchea declared its intention to follow a neutral course and pursue a totally independent policy.

In February, 1956, Kampuchea declared that it would not join SEATO.
  5. This plan was put into effect by three lackeys of the United States, Son Ngoc Thanh, Sam Sary and Dap Chuon; however, it was exposed and crushed in early March, 1959.
  6. At the start of 1962, 14 persons in the "Popular" group were arrested in Kompong Cham and imprisoned until 1970.
  7. According to data compiled by Tu Samut, only about one-fifth of the party's membership remained and activities within the revolutionary bases were sporadic. Other data show: in 1957, the party had only 850 members (compared to the 1,398 party members who were active in Kampuchea following July, 1954) and, by 1960, had only 250 members.
  8. The bourgeois party, which consisted of intellectuals and high-ranking officials, was established in 1946.
  9. From then on, the "Party Congresses" of Pol Pot were considered to be of no value and were not recognized in the history of the struggle of the party in Kampuchea.
  10. Of the 12 members of the new Central Committee, one-third were members of the "Khmer Communist Student" group who returned from France. This time, Ieng Sary managed to be elected to the Standing Committee. Keo Mia, a competent leadership cadre, was removed from the Central Committee, the reason being that there was a "fear he would be exposed" because he had been active publicly for many years.
  11. Pol Pot himself as well as his collaborators maintained that Marxist-Leninist theory "embodied many complex issues"; therefore, it was not necessary to learn it, rather, it was "important to rely upon the movement" because "the mass movement within each country summarized Marxism-Leninism."(!)
  12. The B-52 bombings of Kampuchea began on 18 March 1969 and became routine. After the United States invaded and occupied Kampuchea in 1970, the bombings were intensified and expanded. In 1970-1971, the U.S. Air Force flew about 10,000 sorties per month over Kampuchea. In 1973, the air war continued to be intense: March: 24,000 tons of bombs; April: 35,000 tons; and May: 36,000 tons. By 15 August 1973, the date that marked the

end of the bombing, 539,129 tons of bombs had been dropped on Kampuchea (see: "The Verdict on Vietnam" by Joseph Amter, the Continuum Publishing Company, New York, 1982).

According to American Professor N. Chomsky, "...The U.S. bombing of Kampuchea was so savage that one research document of the United States compiled following the withdrawal in 1975 estimated that 1 million persons would die from hunger and at least 2 years of 'slave-style labor' will be needed to repair the damage"(the American weekly magazine THE MILITANT, 11 March 1983).

13. The report of the Commission investigation the crimes of the Pol Pot regime of the National Council of the United Front To Build and Protect the Kampuchean Fatherland presented at the fifth session of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (August, 1983) stated:

According to investigative data compiled on the basis of the 1,166,307 survivors in the 19 of the 20 provinces and cities of Kampuchea, during the nearly 4 years of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphon regime, 3,314,768 Kampucheans were killed. Of this number 2,746,105 persons were murdered and the other 568,663 persons disappeared without a trace. The perpetrators of this genocide left behind in Kampuchea 141,848 disabled persons and about 200,000 orphans. The country was ravaged: 634,522 houses, 5,857 schools, 796 hospitals and public health installations and 1,968 temples were destroyed.

14. In actuality, without the more than 1,000 competent Khmer cadres and party members who returned to Kampuchea from Vietnam during the early period of the resistance against the United States to strengthen the leadership corps on the various levels, it would have been impossible to meet the requirements involved in the leap forward in the development of the Kampuchean revolution at that time. Because, according to figures compiled by the Pol Pot clique, as of March, 1970, the number of party members stood at only about 2,000.
15. According to incomplete data extracted from the files of the Pol Pot clique that were captured by the Kampuchean revolutionary forces, the cadres of the party who were assassinated included four members of the Party Central Committee, 79 secretaries and members of the party executive committees on the area level; 67 secretaries and members of the party executive committees on the provincial level; and 88 secretaries and members of the leadership committees of the ministries and sectors on the central level. The entire party executive committee of Co Cong Province, which consisted of 10 members of the Thai ethnic minority, was murdered before the resistance against the United States ended.

This does not include the case of the leader Son Ngoc Minh whom the Pol Pot clique conspired with Beijing to assassinate while he was in China convalescing (1972).

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IN ATTACKING AND OCCUPYING GRENADA, THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS HAVE REVEALED THEIR AGGRESSIVE AND IMPETUOUS NATURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 83 pp 68-70

[Commentary by Phuong Son]

[Text] On 25 October 1983, the U.S. imperialists sent dozens of warships and tens of thousands of troops to attack and occupy Grenada, an independent and sovereign country. This, a brazen act of aggression, violated the United Nation's Charter and violated the elementary principles of international law.

Taking advantage of the unstable political situation in Grenada, the U.S. imperialists used force to intervene in the internal affairs of Grenada and impose U.S. neo-colonialism upon that country.

On 13 March 1979, the people of Grenada won the right to be the masters of their destiny. Their selection of a course of free and independent development, of a course not dependent upon imperialism, dissatisfied the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists did everything they could to pressure and force the people of Grenada to abandon the course of development they selected. However, the heroic people of Grenada resolutely resisted the pressure of the U.S. imperialists.

A small island that measures only 344 square kilometers, has a population of 110,000 and faces the guns of the United States that bravely brandishes the banner of national independence sets a bright example for the oppressed nations in their struggle against imperialism to liberate themselves.

The refusal of the Grenadians to yield to the pressure of the U.S. imperialists made the U.S. imperialists extremely angry. They decided that armed intervention was needed to extinguish the revolution in Grenada. Upon the pretext that "American lives were being threatened," the U.S. imperialists sent troops to occupy Grenada. This was not the first time that the United States used the lie about "protecting the lives of Americans" to invade another country. In 1965, the United States used this lie as the pretext for sending troops into Santo Domingo to block that country's development along independent and democratic lines.

The U.S. invasion of Grenada caused a wave of indignation throughout the world. The entire world has angrily denounced the U.S. invasion of Grenada. From east to west, throughout the five continents, even within the United States, public opinion has harshly denounced the act of aggression taken by the U.S. imperialists against an independent and sovereign country. The governments of many countries in the world have issued statements strongly protesting the U.S. invasion of Grenada. At the United Nations, the vast majority of countries have denounced the act of aggression of the United States. Even the main allies of the United States do not dare voice support of the United States in its malicious action of invading Grenada. Even people within the United States have protested this act of aggression by the U.S. government. Many demonstrations have taken place in New York, Washington, California, Iowa and other places to protest the invasion of Grenada. Many U.S. senators have criticized President Reagan as being a "trigger-happy president," "a president with a cowboy mentality." Public opinion in other countries considers the sending of U.S. troops to Grenada "a disgraceful action that cannot be forgiven."

The sending of U.S. troops to invade Grenada proves that in conjunction with promoting the nuclear arms race in order to rewin strategic superiority and prepare for a new world war fought by nuclear weapons, the U.S. imperialists are doing everything they can to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries and unleashing limited wars in order to oppose those countries that possess national independence, beginning with those countries that have selected the socialist path of development. The U.S. invasion of Grenada proves that the U.S. imperialists are making every effort to counter-attack the national liberation movement in the world, that the U.S. imperialists are using every form of intervention, including armed invasion, to thwart the advance to socialism by those nations that have thrown off the yoke of colonial slavery in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The invasion of Grenada has stripped away the veil of hypocrisy of the U.S. imperialists and allowed the entire world to see the true face of the United States. The U.S. authorities are constantly proclaiming that theirs is a policy of peace. Yet, only 1 month after President Reagan bragged about peace at the UN General Assembly, the U.S. government launched the war of aggression against Grenada. This vile act of aggression proves that the United States is a bellicose imperialist, is an enemy of peace. The U.S. authorities loudly proclaim that they respect the independence and sovereignty of all nations. The sending of U.S. troops to invade Grenada is clear proof that the United States flagrantly tramples upon the independence and sovereignty of other nations; the United States is the enemy of the national liberation movement and national independence. The U.S. authorities also boast that they are the protectors of human rights in the world. The U.S. Army's killing of innocent civilians in Grenada, the bombing and destruction of hospitals and schools and the destruction of bases of the national economy, thus paralyzing the life of the people of that country, prove that the United States is trampling upon the right of people to live, prove that the United States is the number one enemy of human rights.

Although they even mobilized Marine forces to attack and occupy a small country whose army numbers only 800 men, the U.S. imperialists have still not

conquered the Grenadans. Patriotic Grenadans continue to fight the U.S. Army. Many persons have withdrawn to the mountainous jungles to fight as guerrillas and some persons have remained in the city to direct sniper fire against the American aggressors.

Together with invading Grenada, the United States is conducting a war of sabotage against Nicaragua and preparing for a large-scale armed invasion of Nicaragua. The United States is threatening the security of Cuba. It is also using lackeys to murder people in El Salvador. The United States has brazenly intervened in the internal affairs of other countries in Central America and the Caribbean. The U.S. President has arrogantly declared that the United States has a "right" to conduct covert campaigns against independent and sovereign countries. Clearly, Reagan is pursuing a policy of "state terrorism." From Central America to the Middle East, from Africa to Asia, everywhere one goes there are crimes committed by the bloody hands of the U.S. imperialists.

While pursuing their policy of aggression and intervention, the U.S. imperialists have found in Beijing a fellow traveller and accomplice. To deceive public opinion, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have pretended to protest the U.S. invasion of Grenada; however, in their specific actions, they have closely collaborated with the U.S. imperialists and coordinated with the U.S. imperialists in opposing the struggle by the people of all countries for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Maintaining that the cause of the present situation in Grenada is the "involvement and intervention of the superpowers"(1), the traitors in Beijing have tried to force the Soviet Union to accept some of the responsibility for the U.S. invasion of Grenada and defend the United States' crime of invading Grenada.

Wherever the U.S. imperialists win a military victory, be it in Grenada or somewhere else, they also suffer an irreparable political defeat. The bloody crimes that they have committed have caused them to be cursed by all mankind. Never before have the U.S. imperialists been as isolated in the world as they are today. The military victory over which the U.S. imperialists are gloating is only a temporary victory. The period when the imperialists could stir up trouble at will in the world has passed. Times have changed. Today, nations have awakened. Socialism has become the factor determining the trend of development of mankind. The three revolutionary currents are on the offensive and continuing to surge steadily forward, despite encountering obstacles at some times and places.

The Grenada incident is not the end, it is the beginning, the beginning of a new quagmire--the newest since the Vietnam quagmire--for the U.S. imperialists in Central America and the Caribbean and possibly at other places where the U.S. imperialists have inserted their bloody hands.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The 6 November 1983 issue of PEOPLE'S DAILY Newspaper published in Beijing.

END

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